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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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PRICE TWO CENTS

## "HANNA" SOCIALISTS

STICK BY THE CREATURE THEY HELPED TO CREATE.

Sol. Southeimer, Elected President of the Cleveland Trades Council by Their Votes, Allowed to Take Republican Nomination Without Objection.

Cleveland, O., March 20.—The chapter which began with the unanimous election of Sol. Southeimer as president of the United Trades and Labor Council (a unanimity which was only obtained by all the Kangaroos voting for him) seems to have been completed by the nomination of Sol. Southeimer for the position of president of the City Council or vice-mayor by the large capitalist class Republican party at their convention last Saturday, the 14th of March.

The infamy is now complete, and the Kangaroos will lick the hand of Benedict Arnold Southeimer. They helped create him, and they will stand by their creation.

The Republican party of Cleveland performed a neat stroke, when to show that "the interests of capital and labor are identical," don't-ye-know, they nominated for mayor Harvey D. Gould, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and for vice-mayor Sol. Southeimer, president of the Chamber of Labor.

It was a very neat stroke, well calculated to deceive the working class. And the Kangaroos by their action in not placing a candidate in the field against Sol. Southeimer made this neat stroke of the Republicans possible. They—the Kangaroos—are responsible for the nomination by the Republicans of Southeimer, and for all the evils and confusion of thought that will follow from his nomination.

For instance, here is the talk: "Surely the Republican party must be a great friend of labor when it nominates a cigar-maker, Sol. Southeimer, president of the United Trades and Labor Council, for the honored position of president of the City Council."

But this is not all the infamy. That position of the Republican platform which refers to street railway matters is almost word for word the report of the low fare committee of the United Trades and Labor Council—a committee of which Harry Thomas, the Socialist, (?) candidate for mayor, was a member. The readers of The People will remember what the report of the low fare committee was. Here is the part of the Republican platform which pertains to the street railways:

"In the matter of the street railway service, we believe that the proper street railway service is one by which every citizen is brought within convenient distance of a single system, upon which he can ride by a direct route for a single fare to any part of the city for the lowest rate of fare consistent with good service to the public, good wages and hours to the men employed, and a fair return on the investment."

"We believe that the people of Cleveland desire to have the benefit of such a service at the earliest possible moment, and will favor a reasonable adjustment of the franchise question which will secure immediately these results. The fact that existing franchises expire at different times within the next eleven years makes such an adjustment impossible except upon the basis of an arrangement by which all franchises shall be made to expire at one time. We therefore favor an immediate readjustment of the entire street railroad question on a basis of not less than seven (7) tickets for a quarter, good at all times, universal transfers, and the immediate construction of such cross-town lines and extensions as the council may require. And in return for these immediate extensions, a general extension of existing franchises so as to make them all expire at one time."

The words used are well-nigh identical with those used by the low fare committee in its recommendations and report to the United Trades and Labor Council.

Now, in view of the fact that the most important portion of the Republican platform agrees with the platform of the low fare committee, and in view of the fact that Harry Thomas, Kangaroo candidate for mayor, agreed to that report and signed his name to it, I ask, Why don't Harry support the Republican party which agreed to his platform; why don't he do the only square thing he could do—withdraw from the Kangaroo ticket, and like the good little Hanna "Socialist" that he is, give his support openly instead of secretly to the Hanna ticket? Echo answers—why? Hanna's platform and Harry's are in agreement; why don't he then in all consistency get off of his little on-horse Kangaroo platform, and on to the Hanna platform where he belongs? But consistency, thou art a jewel, not found in the Kangaroo's head.

Last Wednesday night the United Trades and Labor Council met. It was

expected by some that the Kangaroos would fight and that an attempt would be made to oust Sol. Southeimer from the chair which he had disgraced by accepting a nomination at the hands of the capitalist class. But there was no fight. Kangaroos don't fight. They only crawl. And Mamie Hayes did the crawling act to perfection. She bowed this way, and she smirked that way in the most astounding fashion.

The fun started under the head of "Good and Welfare." A young man in the rear of the hall rose to his feet and said: "I would like to know if our president is going to desert us for Mark Hanna? If he is a Republican and with the millionaires, let him get out of the working class. Who ever saw a workman on a Republican ticket?" he cried. "Southeimer cannot be a Socialist, a Republican candidate, president of this council, and at the same time a member of the Seventeenth Ward Democratic Club" was his parting shot.

"Are you a delegate?" Southeimer shouted, when quiet was restored.

"I'm a union man and an ex-delegate," came the reply.

"Then you have taken an unwarranted liberty in addressing this body," Southeimer retorted, flushing with anger; "it is within my power to have you escorted from this hall, but I will not. Don't you try that again," he warned. "I will not have ward heelers and political cheap skates coming in here attacking my honesty of purpose."

Did Kangaroo Hayes then come boldly to the front, help out the young fellow, and attack Southeimer for violating all laws of decency and courtesy? Nothing of the sort. He kept silent until some other business had been transacted. Then Hayes spoke his little piece. He said that he wanted to talk a little politics. He then, as chief Kangaroo, proceeded to do the lick-split act, and killed the movement to force Southeimer to resign from his position as president of the United Trades and Labor Council. The speaker admitted that he was a Socialist (!), and it was expected that the fight against Southeimer would be led by members of his party, and by Hayes in particular. But when Hayes declared that there was no question in the trades and labor conflict which forbids its presiding officer from running for political office, it was seen that Southeimer would not be asked to step down and out.

"I cannot see," said Hayes, "that this organization has any right to interfere with Mr. Southeimer. He is responsible to his own local union. It can take whatever action it deems best. (Imagine the Democratic and Republican old fogey, conservative cigar-makers doing anything but applaud Southeimer for being so lucky as to be nominated by the Republicans for president of the City Council of Cleveland!)"

"But we Socialists are more than fourteen years old (I should think Max was just about fourteen years old himself, and imagined that all other men would play the sucker to his bait) and are not going to fall into any bear pit. But I will say, with all due respect and without any animosity toward our president" (On his knees to Sol.) "that had not Sol. Southeimer been president of the United Trades and Labor Council he would never have been given a place on the Republican ticket." (Just so, and you Kangaroos are morally responsible for Sol's selling labor out, for you helped to place him in a position where he could sell labor out to the Republican party.)

Hayes held that Mr. Southeimer was an honor to the Republican ticket. (A betrayer of labor, a Judas Iscariot who betrayed labor for the thirty pieces of silver, a position on the Republican ticket—such a man an honor to the Republican ticket!—out upon a man who would utter such sentiments. He is no better than the betrayer of whom he speaks, for he acts as a stool-pigeon for the traitor and is therefore lower than the traitor himself.)

Enough infamy for one article. Surely no honest man can vote the Kangaroo ticket after such a display of indecency.

"Land ought to be as easy of transfer as any other article or commodity," says the English home secretary. Asquith. Things easy of transfer to their own possession are always what the capitalists want.

Professor S. J. Chapman, in a speech delivered in England, says, "We live today in an age of big cities, not great cities." This is due to the fact that we live today in a big system, not a great system. We will be doing that when we live under Socialism.

Marie Corelli objects to Carnegie's gift of a library to Shakespeare's town, Stratford-on-Avon. She says that the erection of the library would involve the demolition of ancient houses which are landmarks of Shakespeare's time. While we do not admire Miss Corelli's strenuous occultism or favor the perpetuation of ancient houses, we cannot fail to applaud the instinct that leads the English novelist to venerate Shakespeare more and Carnegie less. It's a healthy instinct.

## UNDAUNTED

WEATHER FAILS TO KEEP CROWD AWAY FROM FESTIVAL.

Occasion a Marked Success—Police Interference Made Change of Programme Necessary—Throng Didn't Object—Restaurant and Bazaar Well Patronized

Despite the bad weather of Sunday crowds attended The Daily People Concert, Ball and Fair at the Grand Central Palace. The gathering appeared as large at that of any previous event, and it is believed it will be as big a success if not better than any former occasion.

There was but one other drawback besides the inclement weather. That was the police and the Sunday "blue laws." They prevented the regular performance so instead a vocal and instrumental program was furnished which was run under police supervision. The talent was not allowed to appear in stage costume.

But the crowd did not object to this change at all. They cheered the actors lustily and appeared to enjoy themselves heartily. Each number was announced from the stage.

Every number was of the best. Miss Norma Sauter, the daughter of Comrade Sauter, made a big hit. Round after round of applause greeted her after she had rendered her selections on the violin. The rest of the talent also came in for their share of applause.

During the intermission between the concert and the ball the throng patronized the bazaar and the restaurant. This is the first time Section New York has taken charge of the eating department at these affairs, but the success surpassed expectations. Crowds gathered at the booths of the bazaar and liberally spent their money on the good offered there. The grand march started shortly after 8 o'clock and thousands marched to the strains of excellent music furnished by the Apollo Orchestra.

After the march was over the devotees of Teppichore indulged in the "light fantastic" till the "few small hours."

This occasion showed once more that the old "dead and buried" Socialist Labor Party was still alive and kicking much to the chagrin of its numerous enemies.

## ANOTHER DOCUMENT

That the "Socialist," Alias "Social Democrats," Are Engaged in "Answering"—Why It Is Printed.

Last week we produced in these columns the letter to the enrolled Social Democratic voters, which created consternation in the King's County committee of the "Socialist," alias "Social Democratic" party, and which that committee appointed "Comrade" Ben Hanford to answer instantaneously; but without success, as that "experienced," "able" and "virile" writer, who plagiarizes Socialist Labor Party literature extensively, preferred to pass the unpleasant job over to Algerian Lee, editor of The Worker, whose reputation for answering Socialist Labor Party documents is only surpassed by that of Hanford.

This week we herewith reproduce the Socialist Labor Party letter to enrolled Socialist Labor Party voters. Subsequent to the action recorded above the same committee substantially decided that this letter should also be answered. Our purpose in reproducing it is to let the public and the writers of that answer know what it is that the latter are to answer. The latter gentry have a habit of "answering" Socialist Labor Party documents that makes it necessary to furnish them with copies of the documents when it is known that they contemplate writing an "answer" to them.

To the Enrolled Voters of the Socialist Labor Party, Who Are Not Yet Enrolled Members of the Socialist Labor Party Organization—Greeting:

The Socialist Labor Party organization of New York City takes it as an evidence that you are more than ordinarily clarified to the political lay of the land when, from among the many political parties at your disposal, you chose the Socialist Labor Party as the one to enroll with. We also look upon your action as an evidence that you are no political coward, and that you have the moral strength of character requisite to stand by your convictions, no matter who knows them. It is for these reasons that we now address you with the purpose of enlisting your services in the party's work.

Since 1890 the Socialist Labor Party has been battling in this State. It took up the case of the workman; it set up the political banner of the working class interests; it called the thing by its name—SOCIALISM; and, correctly, foreseeing that the day would come when the issues then raised and despised having gained inevitable prominence through its propaganda, political crooks and adventurers, to say nothing of the old capitalist parties themselves, would set up imitation and decoy-duck "Socialist"

parties, the party accentuated its character by naming itself the Socialist Labor Party.

Under this name the party has since been known everywhere. During these twelve years its character for integrity of purpose, for uncompromising rectitude and for an undeviating course, and for unquestioned clear-sightedness, has earned for it the respect of every honorable observer, and the deep, malignant hatred both of the capitalist class and of the political crooks that infest the land.

Under this name during all these years it has bled itself in the effort to reach the masses, held in the stupor of capitalist error, with its printed and word-of-mouth propaganda. The literature that it printed and set afloat is of the highest character and immense in quantity; finally it accomplished the feat, thought impossible, of setting up a daily paper in the English language—The Daily People. To-day the party has a well-systematized propagandistic agency—the Daily People, The Weekly People and The Monthly People—besides a department for the printing and distributing of books and other literature—the Labor News Company.

The party's work has borne fruit. Thanks to its untiring agitation, the cause of the working class, which is the same as saying Socialism, has wholly changed complexion. From being despised, the cause has become respected and has grown to be something to conjure by. This result, however, has not lightened, could not lighten, the burden on the shoulders of the enrolled members of the party. On the contrary, it has increased the strain upon them.

In the first place, all that membership that originally joined the party, with the utopian notion that the path of the socialist movement was strewn with flowers, quailed when they realized the seriousness of the conflict before them. They pulled up stakes and left; and, as always happens with deserters, they have joined the foe.

Another set, finding it impossible to traffic on the party, likewise left—or were expelled for their corruption—and likewise joined the foe.

Finally, these two sets, aided and abetted by one or the other, at times both the old political parties, have set up a party that is called in this State the Social Democratic party, in others the "Socialist" party. For the record of this rotten concern we refer you to the enclosed leaflet, which enumerates the official acts of political corruption perpetrated by this bogus socialist party during the short term of its existence, and all of which acts are matters of public record, easily verified. Of course, this bogus party, in league with the labor fakirs, who have again and again sold out the workmen to the capitalists, and in league, as their record proves, with the capitalist politicians themselves, now takes up the name of socialism; and now, when the word has been dignified by the Socialist Labor Party and has become a source of danger for the capitalist politicians, this bogus concern seeks to throw confusion into the campaign by decking itself, too, with the stolen feathers of socialism.

Socialism can be no mushroom growth. Its growth must be like the oak's, slow but sturdy. The growth of the Socialist Labor Party is of such nature; 34,000 votes last year have risen to 53,000 this year, and in this city it rose from 6,000 to 9,000. The increase, both in quality and quantity, of the socialist strength depends upon the amount of work put in by Socialist Labor Party men. It is they who must spread S. L. P. literature; it is they who must spread the S. L. P. daily, weekly and monthly; it is they, in short, who have to carry the torch of enlightenment into the dark homes of the workers—the torch that will light their path toward their own interests, the torch that will light their path so as to know men and distinguish between the true and the false, the torch that will light their path in picking their way midst the brambles and thorns of the fakirs, the politicians and the tricksters, toward their own emancipation.

To join us in this work we hereby urgently invite you. Join your respective Assembly Districts. Help us bear the expense of educating our fellow wage slaves. The time is ripe for such work, and we cannot work too hard if the country is to be saved and our class is to be spared the sorrow that the approaching crash is bound otherwise to weigh them with.

An important municipal election is approaching. A still more important election, State and National, will be on next year. We invite your direct co-operation in this struggle.

Should you be willing to aid in this work please connect with the organizer of Section New York, S. L. P., L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade str., New York City. City Executive Committee.

Section New York, S. L. P.

The recent report that a petrified man was discovered at Asheville, N. C., has caused some discussion. Petrified men are common. They can be seen every day in the ranks of the capitalist parties, and, paradoxical as it may seem, they are living.

## STRIKE AWARDS

WHAT THE MINERS WANTED AND WHAT THEY GOT.

Weighing of Coal, One of Miners' Main Contentions, Not Granted—Sliding Scale—Arbitration Scheme—Recognition of Union Ignored.

Washington, March 21.—The report of the commission appointed by the President last October to investigate the strike of miners in the anthracite region was made public to-day. The report is dated March 18, and is signed by all the members of the commission, who are Judge George Gray of Delaware, Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, and Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, both of this city; Bishop John M. Spalding of Illinois, Thomas H. Watkins of Pennsylvania, E. E. Clark of Cedar Rapids, Ia., and Edward W. Parker of this city. The report is to be illustrated, and it will be accompanied by the testimony taken by the commission, but thus far only the report proper has been printed. This alone covers eighty-seven pages of printed matter.

What They Demanded.

The commission considered and passed upon a long list of demands made by the miners. As summarized by the commission these were:

"First—An increase of 20 per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work."

"Second—A reduction of 20 per cent. in hours of labor without any reduction of earnings for all employees paid by the hour, day or week."

"Third—The adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable; the minimum rate per ton to be 60 cents for a legal ton of 2240 pounds; the differentials now existing at the various mines to be maintained."

"Fourth—The incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances, which may arise from time to time, to the end that strikes and lockouts may be unnecessary."

What They Got.

In brief, the commission recommends a general increase of wages amounting in most instances to 10 per cent.; some decrease of time; the settlement of all disputes by arbitration; fixes a minimum wage and a sliding scale; provides against discrimination of persons by either the mine owners or the miners on account of membership or non-membership in a labor union, and provides that the awards made shall continue in force until March 21, 1906. The commission discussed to some extent the matter of recognition or non-recognition of the miners' union, but declined to make any award on this matter.

## TRUSTS

Their Stupendous Capitalization as Revealed by Recent Figures.

That there are 793 trusts in the United States, representing an aggregate capitalization amounting to nearly one-seventh of the entire wealth of the States, is a fact easily computed from statistics just published in the Congressional Record, and contained in a speech by Representative Littlefield of Maine. A list of trusts existing on January 1, 1903, is given and this is undoubtedly the most complete statement of the kind ever issued.

A distinction is made between what are called "local and natural monopolies," by which is meant gas, electric light, water, street railway, telegraph and telephone companies, and the industrial trusts which are the result of consolidations and combinations. The latter come under the definition adopted for the use of the twelfth census, that a trust is a company organized to own and control a large number of factories and mills, formerly independent of each other and whose business extends over the entire country, or else a company organized simply for the purpose of owning and holding the stocks of other companies. The "natural monopolies" are trusts because of their ownership of valuable franchises or patents, but they, too, may also be trusts in the sense that they represent great consolidations.

Taking the list published in Mr. Littlefield's speech which, it is claimed, is entirely a non-partisan compilation and

aggregating the amounts, and the following record is disclosed:

Trusts, 453; natural and local monopolies, 340; total, 793.  
Outstanding capitalization:  
Common stock, trusts, \$5,973,853,850; local and natural monopolies, \$2,938,618,000; preferred stock, trusts, \$2,091,098; total, natural and local monopolies, \$296,922,400; bonds, trusts, \$1,165,744,528; local and natural monopolies, \$1,284,056,819; total, trusts, \$9,231,136,098; total natural and local monopolies, \$4,519,579,819; total capitalization, \$13,750,734,517.

If one adds to this total the amount of steam railroad capitalization, he arrives at a sum which represents, in large measure, the grand output of stocks and bonds in this country of companies which may be said to constitute the "trust power" in the United States. The figures follow:

Trusts, \$13,750,734,517; steam railroads, \$11,688,147,091; total, \$25,438,881,608.

How great this sum is may be seen by the fact that the entire wealth of the United States is estimated at \$94,300,000,000. The amount of stocks and bonds admitted to the listed and unlisted departments of the New York Stock Exchange was on January 1, 1903, \$18,157,193,423. Two-thirds of the "trust power" is therefore represented in the stock exchange.

The fifty-three corporations whose capitalization is \$50,000,000 and over (exclusive of the steam railroad companies and such railroad "holding" companies as the Northern Securities and the Rock Island Companies, are as follows:

United States Steel Corporation, \$1,500,000,000; Consolidated Tobacco Company, \$282,600,000; International Mercantile Marine, \$195,000,000; United States Leather Company, \$181,000,000; Amalgamated Copper, \$155,000,000; American Telegraph and Telephone, \$153,000,000; Consolidated Gas, \$152,000,000; Anthracite Coal Combine, \$150,000,000; Metropolitan Securities, \$147,499,000; Western Union Telegraph, \$146,051,360; Chicago Union Traction, \$120,394,200; International Harvester, \$120,000,000; Consolidated Lake Superior, \$117,000,000; Bay State Gas, \$112,000,000; Smelting Combine, \$100,000,000; Standard Oil, \$100,000,000; United Railways, St. Louis, \$90,000,000; United Railways, Baltimore, \$90,000,000; Manhattan Railway, \$88,000,000; American Can Company, \$88,000,000; American Sugar, \$85,000,000; Union Steel Company, \$85,000,000; New Orleans Traction, \$80,000,000; United Copper, \$80,000,000; Corn Products Company, \$80,000,000; Plow Combine, \$75,000,000; Union Traction, Philadelphia, \$72,341,684; Central Lumber Company of California, \$70,000,000; Realty Trust, \$65,000,000; Woolen Trust, \$65,000,000; Peoples Gas, Chicago, \$64,046,000; Pittsburg Coal, \$64,000,000; Rubber Trust, \$62,000,000; Union Steel and Chain, \$60,000,000; American Car and Foundry, \$60,000,000; North Jersey Street Railway, \$50,000,000; New England Insurance Exchange, \$58,537,167; Biscuit Trust, \$56,688,000; Underwriters' Association, New York, \$56,428,711; Republic Iron and Steel, \$55,000,000; Paper Combine, \$54,169,000; Shipbuilding Trust, \$54,000,000; Philadelphia Electric, \$53,307,300; Locomotive Trust, \$51,312,500; Western Telephone Company, \$51,000,000; Cambria Steel, \$50,206,000; Chemical Trust, \$50,000,000; Crucible Steel Company, \$50,000,000; Federal Sugar, \$50,000,000; Rubber Goods Company, \$50,000,000; Soapmakers' Combine, \$50,000,000; Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, \$50,000,000.

It is needless to comment at length on this astounding exhibit which seems all the more marvelous when it is remembered that it is practically the growth of the past six years. This great increase in trust power in the nation has resulted in the "trust" issue in politics, and the chief executor's policy of publicity, and that in the cities it has given rise to the problem of the proper municipal regulation, or even public ownership of franchises, is not surprising in view of the facts. No other development of our national life is more stupendous than this.

Attention should be called to the fact that of the total trust capitalization of \$13,750,734,517, the amount of the common stocks is \$8,912,427,450, or about two-thirds of the whole. The popular impression is that these common stocks represent only in very small part any actual capital paid in cash or in property. Conceding this to be the case the congested condition of the money and investment markets is, in a large sense, explained.

The Waterbury trolley strike is going to be extended. So is the use of the militia and the injunction.

The beef combine has been fined \$25,000 for violating the anti-trust laws in Missouri. As this is but a very small fraction of the profits made by their agreement to maintain prices, they are still away ahead of the game and can well afford to smile at the trust busters in consequence.

## IN NEW ENGLAND

DE LEON VISITS INDUSTRIAL CENTRES.

As Sees Wage Workers of Lynn, Olneyville, Woonsocket and Pawtucket—Big Audience at Each Place—Workingmen Show Much Interest.

Lynn, Mass., March 16.—Daniel De Leon addressed yesterday a meeting of over 500 workmen of Lynn and vicinity. The subject was the Paris Commune and its warning, as illustrated by the pending strike against the Tobin organization, which is a manufacturers' organization. The meeting was held under the auspices of the local District Alliance of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The meeting was enthusiastically throughout. Many questions were asked at the close of the address, denoting that close attention had been paid.

Providence, R. I., March 17.—Textile Hall, in Olneyville, was filled last night with an attentive audience to hear Daniel De Leon on "New Trades Unions."

The points scored by the speaker were the inevitableness of unionism; the necessity of unionism; and finally that the political party of Labor had to dominate the economic or trades union movement. At the close of the address several questions were put that gave opportunity to the speaker to amplify his points.

Woonsocket, R. I., March 18.—Under the auspices of L. A. 586 (weavers) affiliated with D. A. 17 of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Daniel De Leon delivered last evening an address on "Trades Unionism, Old and New." The large number of questions, all pertaining to the subject of the address, put to the speaker at the close of his remarks, bespoke the interest of the audience on the subject. Address and answers to questions were warmly applauded and consumed two hours and a half.

The immediate result of the meeting was the gathering of material for a larger, stronger, and in every way superior, Section of the Socialist Labor Party than the one that, under the baneful influence of Thomas Curran, had long been slowly dwindling to nothing, until it finally melted away. Conspicuous among the new material are veterans of the Stateville strike.

Taylor, of L. A. 586, was chairman. Thomas Powers, the secretary of the D. A. 17, of Providence, made a few thrilling remarks as the first speaker.

Among those in the audience were several workmen from Whitingsville, Mass., just across the state line. Also, Barnett J. Murray, of Providence, a State committeeman of the Socialist Labor Party of Rhode Island.

Pawtucket, R. I., March 19.—A well-attended meeting was held here last evening under the auspices of Section, Pawtucket, S. L. P., with Daniel De Leon as the speaker. The subject was the Trades Union Policy of the Socialist Labor Party. The address covered the Trades Union question. The speaker clinched an important point in his argument by referring to a local instance well known to and confirmed by the audience.

Here in Pawtucket is a Horse-shoe Nailmakers' Union, affiliated with Gompers' American Federation of Labor. The Union came about in this way. These horse-shoe nailmakers are boys and were not organized. The Horse-shoers Union refused to handle nails that bore no labels. Thereupon the employer himself organized the Union of his employees, and applied to the S. T. & L. A. for a charter. This was refused on the ground that the Union was built by the employer and depended upon him for its existence. The employer then applied to the A. F. of L. and was successful. His Union got a charter and the label, and he paid its initial dues. Being chartered and "labeled" his goods were handled by the other "Union" men. That charter and that label, accordingly, were not shields to protect labor, but shields that protected and sanctified the capitalist inhumanity of child-labor. The A. F. of L. accordingly, was not a labor body, but a wheel in the mechanism of capital. A bona fide political party of labor could not either consent or shut its eyes to such crimes, and such crimes upon labor could not be prevented except by the active leadership of the political wing of the Labor Movement over the economic.

Tickets of Section Pawtucket, S. L. P., and member of the State Committee of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island, called the meeting to order, and introduced McGuigan of Section Providence and also a member of the State Committee as chairman. In opening and in closing the meeting, the chairman made impassioned appeals to the audience to join the S. L. P. and its economic wing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.



# THE WOMAN WHO TOILS

The publishers of "The Woman Who Toils" inform us that the book records the experiences of "two ladies as factory girls." The book is the joint work of Mrs. John Van Vorst, and Miss Marie Van Vorst. They belong to the "uppath class." They had their experiences separately and the book is divided in two parts, the first part being Mrs. John's and the second, of course, Miss Marie's.

The book is written very much as one would describe a foreign country or a voyage of discovery to the North Pole. That Mrs. Van Vorst took this view of her experiences is shown in her introductory chapter, in which she speaks of her journey into the world of labor to investigate for herself the conditions existing there. She tells us that her class is troubled by our struggle, and, if we are to believe all she says on this score, the class that fleeces us cannot sleep nights for planning how to better our conditions in some, in every way. This reminds us of Tolstoi's remark that the idle rich will do anything for the poor but get off their backs.

Mrs. Van Vorst speaks of us as the "unknown class" of which her class has but meagre knowledge. Speed the day when they will know more about us! This author gives the following reasons for her vicarious sacrifice in our behalf, or, to speak more exactly in behalf of the women of our class: "It is evident that, in order to render practical aid to this class we must live among them, understand their needs, acquaint ourselves with their desires, their hopes, their aspirations, their fears. We must discover and adopt their point of view, put ourselves in their surroundings, assume their burdens, unite with them in their daily effort. In this way alone, and not by forcing upon them a preconceived ideal, can we do them real good, can we help them to find a moral, spiritual, aesthetic standard suited to their condition of life. Such an undertaking is impossible for most. Sure of its utility, inspired by its practical importance, I determined to make the sacrifice it entailed and to learn by experience and observation what these could teach. I set out to surmount physical fatigue and revulsion, to place my intellect and sympathy in contact as a medium between the working girl who wants help and the more fortunately situated who wish to help her. If the papers which follow I have endeavored to give a faithful picture of things as they exist, both in and out of the factory, and to suggest remedies that occurred to me as practical. My desire is to act as a mouthpiece for the woman laborer. I assumed her mode of existence with the hope that I might put into words her cry for help. It has been my purpose to find out what her capacity is for suffering and for joy as compared with ours; what tastes she has, what ambitions, what the equipment of woman as is compared to that of man; her equipment as determined first, by nature, second, by family life, third by social laws; what her strength is, and what her weaknesses are as compared with the woman of leisure; and finally, to discern the tendencies of a new society as manifested by its working girls."

We are perhaps less interested in Mrs. Van Vorst's experiences than in her reflections upon them. The book, so far as description goes, contains nothing that is new to the wage earner. We know our own experiences. Doomed to the daily grind for an existence, in which he who gets a chance at the treadmill is considered lucky, who outside of our class can portray the life? To us it is not a few week's novelty; under the present system it is our doom from birth. We may laugh, but 'tis stifled by the shriek of the factory whistle. We may sing, but the clanging and clashing of machinery turns our song into moaning. Want, or the fear of want, keeps us blasted and blighted. We labor in sweat, dirt and sorrow and need not the pictures of a sentimentalist to convey it to our consciousness.

They cannot render us any service, they who come among us and thrust their fingers into our sores to see if we really do suffer. Under capitalism, and none of these sentimentalists would alter the system, no matter how much they deplore its effects—under capitalism, the degradation of the worker is the prime essential. This condition can never be altered by any force outside of ourselves. Not until we get together and are conscious of what is the trouble and what is to be done, not till then will we rid ourselves of the whole labor fleecing pack.

It is rather strange that Mrs. Van Vorst should go from New York to search for this underworld which she sought to discover. Maybe it does not exist here. Anyway she went to Pittsburgh; reaching there at noon. Though without a friend or acquaintance within hundreds of miles she got a job before nightfall. The ease with which both the "ladies" got work, no matter where they went, is very remarkable. It reminds us of that other "sociologist," Professor Wyckoff, a "gentleman" who did a turn once (for publication) as a laborer. The professor usually found employers anxiously awaiting him.

The author's lodging house experience was discomfiting and she missed the services of her maid. She reflects that probably her companions did not feel the discomforts. Still, she finds, to her evident surprise, that we are human beings with nothing about us to indicate that we were not born with like capacities to hers. The difference being that upper class souls "develop" with their advantages while ours, simply "diminish" under oppression. Mrs. Van Vorst's first "factory girl" experience had some variety about it in a big pickle factory conducted by a Christian gentleman. This factory is a "worker's betterment" institution, the meaning of "betterment" in this connection being better fitted for exploitation. The "lady factory girl" had to lay off two days to recuperate after the first day. She was filled with aches and pains, but her great mission impelled her to continue.

She devotes much space to the small talk of the girls, "fancy dress balls, parties, church societies, flirtations and clothes" being the chief topic. Many of the girls, we are told, work only that they may buy clothes. As one girl put it: "I couldn't have the clothes if I didn't work." Of course, this means that the father's wages are too low to properly care for his family, but "sociologists" don't bother about causes. Some exceptions were found, girls who worked to help keep the family bread box from being empty. A vivid description is given of the degrading toil that saps the life vigor of the worker, and one wonders if the author really thought that the only incentive to endure such conditions is a little cheap vanity! Much of the work in this factory, run by a Christian gentleman, is done by girls of from twelve to fourteen years of age. Can it be, that these little children voluntarily come under the iron hand of capitalism, which presses their delicate forms out of shape, merely for the sake of new frocks and patent leather shoes?

Mrs. Van Vorst found the girls kind and sympathetic. Even the piece workers gave her a helping hand. On Saturday, the owner of the factory came at the noon hour with several friends. He took up the time of the employees by talking to them. "He talks to us with amazing camaraderie" (comradeship). After him two missionaries spoke. She liked best the one that made them laugh. She advises "young society" women to take the hint and not talk to the poor in the slums about Shakespeare, but give them something to make them laugh. Properly worked up, the idea of "young society" women discoursing on Shakespeare might do to create a laugh.

Mrs. Van Vorst believes that women offer less resistance to exploitation than men. In the masculine category all are bread winners, while in the feminine there are bread winners, semi-bread winners and those who work to gratify vanity. She considers individuals instead of the class, as we pointed out last Sunday, in a preliminary notice of the book, modern production turns into special industries—things that were once household duties. The releasing of women from household labor enable the capitalists to reduce the wages of men, thus forcing "emancipated" women into the industrial field, there to sustain themselves in competition with men. Mrs. Van Vorst's remedy, for she has one, is to relieve the pressure on the women bread winners by establishing schools where luxurious industrialism may be taught. Then "we" would not be obliged to send to Europe when we wish to beautify "our" homes. We wonder if Mrs. Van Vorst has any knowledge of the Women's Exchange, a feature of all large cities, where the handiwork of "decayed gentlemen" is placed on sale. These places always have more stuff than they can dispose of.

Her second experience was in Perry, a New York mill town. Again she readily gets work, going in at a time when many girls had left owing to a cut in wages. Perry, which is recruited from the western part of the State is pronounced a town of youth "strong with the American's ambition for independence." There are scarcely any children there, few married couples and no old people. Here, again, the girls work just to gratify their vanity. They leave their homes for a life of hard toil in order to get fine clothes. The author says they are Americans, not slaves, gay, laughing, young. Evidently Perry has not yet rubbed the bloom of youth from its victims. Why they were in Perry is unwittingly revealed in the fate of the farmer and his wife who had to give up their farm and moved to Perry to take boarders. We are regaled with pages of small talk heard at Perry. Dress and men are the topics. It was this chapter, when published in a magazine, that aroused President Roosevelt to deliver himself of his "race suicide" effusion. In this chapter Mrs. Van Vorst lays down the proposition that among American born women the sterility is greater, the fecundity less than in those of any other nation. France alone, ex-

cepted. The love of luxury and the triumph of individualism are given as the cause. And yet further on the author shows that when the Perry mill hands are indiscreet enough to marry the woman must continue at the mill; the occupation is, of course, inconsistent with child bearing. Perhaps these sentimentalists prefer the southern method where women take their suckling infants into the mill where the hum of the machinery lulls them to sleep or drowns their cries as they lie behind the looms. If he can support her, where is the decent husband that will allow his wife to work in a mill?

Everywhere it was found that the girls were discontented with their tasks and conditions. Many of these workers, to gratify vanity, had given up hope, and yet numbers of them were trying to improve their condition by boarding their pennies to take correspondence courses of study. But it is to clothes that this "lady worker" comes back again and again. Styles she thought new in Paris were worn by Perry mill girls.

Miss Van Vorst also had no trouble in getting work. She reached Lynn in the morning and in two and a half hours was working in Parson's shoe factory. Then she went to Marche's. Signs of "help wanted" seem to have confronted her everywhere. The average wages for women in Lynn, she declares, to be \$8 per week. One of her companions made \$14 per week and spent \$40 a month on clothes!

When Miss Marie came among us from upper classdom she laid aside the following items of dress amounting to \$447: hat, coat, dress, underskirt, gloves and underwear. Her working girl outfit cost \$9.45. Miss Van Vorst devotes the most of her part of the book to Southern mill conditions, with which our readers have been made thoroughly familiar through these columns. When the company store gets through with the Southern mill worker she hasn't a cent for dress. These women of purest American blood, are without doubt the most horribly abused women workers in the world. And as for child labor there the details of its exploitation are simply sickening.

The "Woman Who Toils" serves one good purpose. It holds up to view a reflection of the capitalist class. It was some Socialist writer who observed that the exploiting, the labor fleecing class, does not dominate only in the sense of oppressing the bodies of the workers, but also dominates their minds in the sense of placing upon them the stamp of its own habits of thought or mental characteristics.

In "high society" the women have nothing to do but display the stolen wealth in which they riot. Like the lilies, they toil not, yet are they sumptuously arrayed. The fashions set for them are copied by the makers of shoddy clothes for the workers, for, be it remembered, the working girls haven't the time to make clothes as their grandmothers did. The long hours of exacting toil make this impossible and besides they cannot buy them cheaper ready made. The "upper class" also sets the fashion in morals. In a canvas of New York's plutocracy sometime since, a reporter found among forty-five Fifth avenue families forty without children. Dr. Eliot of Harvard, complains of the small families of the cultured class. These people wish to have individual freedom, they do not wish to be tied down with

family cares. With the mill girl it is not a question of choice. Mrs. Van Vorst testifies that, despite their frivolity the mill girls are self-respecting. In one thing they do not, from choice, ape their "superiors," and that is prostitution. The divorce courts make easy the swapping of the wives of the rich and the scandals of "society" fill the pages of the papers. When a working girl resorts to prostitution she is driven to it by stern necessity and many prefer death to it.

Women are more slavish to custom than men. We have no doubt that many of the girls who "didn't have to work" were too "proud" to acknowledge the full truth. This is a peculiarity of the women of the decaying middle class. We know of such who talk of their going to work in a factory as going to business. Just like Wall street brokers, you know. In this country the rich make a lavish and vulgar display of wealth and this filters down to the woman who toils. Smart clothes cover up a multitude of defects. Young men, too, prefer girls who are stylish, even though the material is shoddy.

The most interesting thing in the book is the fact that the women workers were discontented. This is an encouraging sign, for, coupled with it is the fact that many working women are taking an interest in Socialism and are organizing as auxiliary bodies to help push the work of the S. L. P. While the machine dulls their intellects and makes them onesided, yet their minds lie fallow until the sower of Socialist seed passes that way.

Our first conclusion on reading the book was, that it appeared to be the work of well intentioned sentimentalists who, ignorant of the causes that produce the conditions against which they protest. But the president's commendation of the work and the avidity with which the capitalist press have, since its publication, discussed the "extravagance" of the working girl lead to the belief that the book is not without a purpose.

We have reserved to the last the most significant utterance in the book. It is made by the gentle Miss Marie as follows: "In the great mobs and riots of history, what class is it which forms the brawn and muscle and sinew of the disturbance? The workmen and workwomen in whom discontent has bred the disease of riot, the abnormality, the abortion known as Anarchy, Socialism. The hem of the uprising is composed of idlers and loungers, indeed, but it is the laborer's head upon which the red cap of protest is seen above the vortex of the crowd."

"That those who labor with their hands may have no cause to menace society, those who labor with their brains shall strive to encompass."

By society she means the labor fleecing class, and she thinks that class can keep itself in the saddle by throwing sops to the workers. President Roosevelt says: "Those who work neither with their brains nor their hands are a menace to the public safety."

Well and good! That describes his capitalist class exactly. It is the class that is a menace to the nation and to civilization. The men and women who toil will yet consign that class to the limbo of things forgotten. Then civilization will move forward and under the Socialist Republic we shall enjoy moral greatness and national well-being heretofore undreamed of. Happy he whose lot it is to contribute his efforts in the struggle for this happy time!

## Two Women of the "Uppah Class" Take a Trip Into Industrialism, With Euphratic Results.

experience more slowly, but with evident relish, while the oldtimers ate with an effort, forcing the bread down as a necessity of life. A continuous diet of bread alone does not satisfy the inner man, and in this connection one of the bread eaters unintentionally said a good thing. He voiced the cry of his stomach and described, his emaciated condition by the single remark that the skin was cracking on his bones for the lack of meat. As for myself I ate the bread of charity for the first time in my life, and it did not choke me; on the contrary, it appeased my fierce hunger. Swelling it up with water from the fountain at the park, I settled into a seat on a bench and slept until an officer on his morning round aroused me with a rough shake and the command to "Wake up and take a walk."

The second week of the struggle with poverty had its illuminations. I discovered two other bakers who gave out stale bread to the hungry: one at one o'clock and one at four o'clock in the morning. With the thrift inherited from my pilgrim ancestors, whose heroism on a continued diet of parched corn and lobster adorns the pages of history. I took in each night all three of the benevolent bakers and by this means had a supply of bread for the day, which I packed around until eaten. I also essayed to sell soap for a fake outfit that lives upon the credulity of the people in the tenement districts. At the end of three days, and I had striven to succeed, my commissions amounted to forty cents, and the boss of the wagon took away my basket, with the remark that I was far from being a crack-a-jack.

With the money I arrayed myself in clean linen, had ten hours of sleep in bed, and soup at night and coffee in the morning at the penny restaurant, and a three-cent shave in the dago quarter.

My third week in the parks was uneventful.

The fourth week of my stay in the parks had its bright sides. Wandering about one morning after receiving my second installment of bread I reached the open market on the West Side. The fruit and produce dealers were opening up and the laden vans from the country were ranged in order in the square. Flitting about in the semi-darkness were three shadowy forms. They sped through the streets adjoining the market in a noiseless fashion, stooping and rising at times as birds of prey swoop down and up. They were old and wizened women, bare of head and limb, who alertly gathered up the decaying fruit and vegetables that the dealers threw out. I joined the women in the quest and filled my pockets with pickings. They did not resent the encroachment upon their domain, and undisturbed I feasted upon the luscious finds. And thus each morning thereafter I had my fruit before breakfast. At the last of the week I received a file of delivering circulars at seventy-five cents a day, and this was permanent for one day in each week. The money thus earned allowed of two nights' rest in the lodging house, clean linen and coffee each morning.

During the last weeks of my dire poverty but five nights of the seven were given to the parks. Two were spent in the lodging house, an enjoyment the proceeds of my one day's work permitted. My personal appearance, however, was most disreputable. My hair was untrimmed, my eyes sunken and dull, my neck sawn, while my flaccid face had the putty hue of the half fed and half housed. The cheap straw hat I wore was stained with dust and humped by rain and midnight damp. My coat was faded and bulged and hung limply on my attenuated form. My ill fitting vest flapped against my lean and shrunken abdomen. My trousers were a mass of triangular wrinkles, and the heels of my broken shoes were so run down on the outer side that I toed-in when walking.

My mental decadence had kept pace with the deterioration of my apparel. The trend of my thought was individualistic and scornful of the altruistic cant of a society based and sustained upon the profoundest egotism. I rejoiced that I was now no longer bound by conventions. With cruel hand society had cast me out and a free outcast I would remain, indifferent to its frown or favor. The physical discomforts of an untrammelled life under the trees in the parks, or elsewhere, were trivial as compared to the obligations and limitations of social life. In me surged the spirit of Bobbie Burns' tinker, who sang:

"A fig for those by law protected,  
Liberty's a glorious feast;  
Courts for cowards were erected,  
Churches built to please the priest."

Thus I stood in the outer circle of the brotherhood of tramps. I had followed the process of tramp making a long way; why not to the end? I had but a few years to live at the best; why not let them quietly slip away without toil or struggle? If on the easy tide of aimless living my careless and rudderless bark drifted to oblivion, the sooner the better, for the end would bring rest. No face beckoned me back to earnest life, no voice called me to high and strenuous endeavor. So I joined the boundless concourse of lost men drifting on to what no one knows, to where no one cares.

But I was plucked like a brand from the burning by the sheer force of circumstances. The brisk fall trade called for an unusual number of circular distributors, and work was thrown in my way until I soon had constant employment at a dollar a day. I confined my weekly expenses to one dollar for lodgings, one dollar for food and fifty cents for laundry and incidentals and in a comparatively short time I was presentably attired and mingling with my old

acquaintances. Fortunately I secured a fairly lucrative position in time, and at this writing my prospects are of the brightest. But I do not scorn the homeless men whose lot I shared. A great wave of compassion fills my heart when I think of them and I avoid the parks by night that the sight of their misery may not remain in my memory. No sadder picture can be drawn than that of these men of the parks cowering before the deadly face of want—Mariner J. Kent, in "The Independent."

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(Continued on page 3.)

# THE MAN WHO TRAMPS

After failing in a business venture I would not let go until the bitter end. I exhausted every avenue and by-way of credit, borrowed from every living soul I knew, and pawned everything I possessed save the clothes on my back. In the end when I shut up shop my assets were the frayed and seedy suit I wore and a dollar and a quarter in loose change. I was fifty years old, which was against me, and I had no particular calling to which I could turn my hand. But I had health and strength and the spirit of hustle in me.

I began my fight for life the first week in September last. First I booked myself at a fifteen-cent lodging house on the Bowery and invested a quarter in meat tickets at a restaurant, which offers the following bill of fare: Pint of coffee and bread, one cent; pint of soup and bread, one cent; beef stew, and bread, two cents; baked beans and bread, two cents; bread pudding, two cents.

Then began the hunt for work. Up early in the morning to scan the advertising columns in the morning dailies and then an all day tramp in search of a job, an asking in my case that always met with a refusal. In my experience I found that for every situation there were from ten to fifty applicants, and that the possibility of securing employment by answering advertisements was as remote as the finding of a needle in a haystack. As has before been written, many came but few were chosen.

At the end of five days I was penniless. I had lived too high. Ten cents a day for food and fifteen cents a night for lodging might do for a high roller, but not for a poor man looking for work. So I hunted the parks and joined the

ranks of the homeless men who "carry the stick." This term is an elastic one, and means sleeping on a bench in a park or in a furniture van or in a beer dive, as the case may be, or wandering to and fro until the night is spent. The regular panhandlers and hoboes I avoided, and my chance companions of the parks, as a class, were men who would work if they could get it to do, a class of poor and friendly men that become numerous in a great city; such a class of men as a city magistrate recently said ought to commit suicide because of their uselessness. Really they are no worse than most successful men who, in their egotism, are prone to think that poverty is a crime. Yet to the taunts of the successful and opulent these men, with hollow eyes and shrunken bellies, might say:

"We are the slaves, the needy knaves  
Ye spit upon with scorn—  
The spawn of earth, of nameless birth,  
And basely bred as born;  
Yet know, ye soft and silken fools,  
Were ye the things you say,  
Your broad domains, your coffered gains,  
Your lives were ours to-day."

At the very first of my consorting with the "bench-warmers" I noticed the lack of fellowship among them, the absence of that freemasonry which exists among seasoned tramps to a high degree. Panhandlers and hoboes are socially inclined when congregated, and jovial when by hook or crook they have got under their jackets a modicum of stale beer or bootleg whisky. They chat and lay plans for foraging and for deeds of petty larceny, or discuss with animation the latest dodge in slum-asking. But the ar-

ray of forlorn men who camp in the public parks are an inert mass of worn and wretched humanity. They huddle together perforce on the narrow benches, but they seldom speak to each other, and then in low and spiritless tones.



## FUTURE SOCIETY

**Ideal Plans Imaginative and Harmful—Society a Growth That Must Be Studied to Be Understood—The Tendency Toward Social Action and Socialism.**

The worst thing that can happen to the awakening proletariat is to get his eyes fastened, so to say, upon the future. Yet that is the error into which nearly every young student of the social question falls. He is greatly aided in this erroneous course by the mass of sentimental trash and plans of future societies which overflow the market, since Socialism commenced to be popular enough to pay to write about. While a person thus attempts to create a future in his imagination, which, by its very beauty, is to conquer the world, he becomes blind to what is going on in the "living present." Dreams and schemes can never bring the Socialist republic to pass, nor even influence its development. On the contrary, when a person once gets such things embedded in his mind, it takes much valuable time and untold energy to get him clear upon the modern revolutionary movement.

The Socialist republic can come only as a growth, a development, and, while it must be established by the class-conscious action of the working class, nevertheless, that class can neither create it nor invent it. It can simply, in the fulness of historic development establish the Socialist republic out of the material to hand—namely, human society as it has grown through savagery, barbarism, ancient and modern civilization. As a man is essentially a grown child and whatever he may become when developed, he bears forever with him the impressions, the influences and the associations of his childhood, so with society. Whatever we might like to expect of the future we must bear in mind that it is but an unfolding of the past and the present and that new influences can only modify, not alter, its development. Hence it ought to be plain that, in order to gain an adequate idea of the future, it is of no earthly use to create a future of one's own imagination for, in ten cases out of every ten, it is sure to be a fizzle. One generally suits very few ideas but one's own, in this respect. As with the youth, if we desire to understand and influence his nature life, we do not create an air castle for him in a dream; but we study his childhood, his past and his present, learn his tendencies and inclinations, attempt to curb his faults and perpetuate his virtues, and thus we may see him grow and develop into a healthy,

high-minded, noble man. Exactly so with society, to understand it we must comprehend its past and present and the future will gradually unfold itself to our aspect.

Every form of society that has existed in history has had its growth, its development, its existence and final decay. Each society has been a development out of the preceding one, and each also developed within itself the destructive germs to whose influence it finally succumbed; and, likewise, the constructive germs that formed the basis of the society of the future.

Now, if we bear in mind that society is such a growth that it bears the marks of savagery, its byproduct of barbarism, its childhood, and of civilization, its youth, we may, without fear of becoming rainbow chasers, examine the constructive germs at work in capitalism and perceive what is there unfolding itself for the future.

If we look, for example, at the development of industry, the very basis of all development, we can see that from the earliest savagery, from the time of the stone and stick as tool or weapon, a stock of timber as an aid to cross a river or a wooden whistle as a means of a signal, there has been a gradual improvement of the means of production, transportation, and communication, this improvement has never, as a whole—and but spasmodically, at any time, as, for example, in the case of the bicycle—tended toward perfection for individual use. In everything we see the manifestation of the tendency of the development toward co-operation. The steamboat is the product of the combined efforts of many branches of workers, and it must be operated by a crew working harmoniously, each filling his place and post. So with a train; so with the telephone and the telegraph; and so with every mill, factory, farm and mine in the entire nation. Nothing can be done by individual efforts alone. Not only can few of the modern machines be operated by single individuals; but, moreover, what each can produce on his machine is not an article of use in itself. A sole for a shoe, a button for a coat, a chimney for a lamp, a hoop for a barrel, are, in themselves, only so much rubbish, unless combined with other articles of value—the products of other workers.

In the modern trust, we see the highest possible development of co-operation under the private ownership of the co-operative means of production. In order to move progressively onward, the only step that can be taken is to convert these co-operatively operated means of production into collective property so that the ownership may correspond with the operation and the relation of

man and the means whereby he secures his livelihood may be harmonious and beneficial, instead of as now, unharmonious and destructive.

In the operation of one of the gigantic trusts of to-day, we see unfolding itself the whole industrial mechanism of the future. The work is carried on systematically with the least possible expenditure of labor. Each has his place and each is equally necessary. Upon this system of production, the future can scarcely improve. This difference, however, is self evident: when the class of profit-grinders has been abolished and the work is done for the benefit of the producers themselves, the industries will not be managed from the top downward, by superintendents, bosses and petit bosses, who, in reality, are but slave-drivers and often know nothing about the industry, holding their positions because they are able to get an undue amount of wealth out of the workers, but by the workers themselves, who will elect their own managers and directors.

They will, of necessity, choose men with the highest technical knowledge of their respective branches of industry, for only in such cases could they be of service in wealth production and be of any use to the collectivity. Night work, whenever possible, and overwork in all cases, except in emergencies, when human life might depend upon it, would positively die out for the reason that, as no one would be obliged to work for the profit of someone else, they would not be stupid enough to work to get things for themselves to squander to the detriment of their physical and mental faculties; and, with the present productive capacity of machinery each one can, in a very reasonable labor day, produce both the necessities and such luxuries as he and his may desire.

Next to production, the exchange of the necessities of life has formed the most important factor in human development. Now, when a Socialist says that under the Socialist republic each worker will receive the full product of his labor, he does not mean, as he is sometimes interpreted to mean, that the miner will take his coal, the miller his flour, the shoemaker his shoes, etc., etc. Such a thing is difficult in any form of even a partially advanced society and would present a physical impossibility in a society where the division of labor is so great as to-day. And, as the safest criterion by which a naturalist can judge the relative standard of animals in the scale of advancement is the physiological division of labor, so is the highest form of social progress marked by the economic division of labor; hence, we may expect that with the advancements which are bound to take place upon the

establishment of Socialism, the division of labor will be carried on to the highest possible degree. Hence, of necessity, there must be a system of exchange, and therefore there must also be a medium of exchange.

Now, the medium of exchange, or money, in the present society is itself a commodity, i. e., an article of value and, consequently, a product of human labor. This is absolutely necessary in a system of private property in order to protect the interest of the hoarder of wealth. But, with the changed property relations of the Socialist republic it would be illogical, cumbersome, and a waste of labor to make an article of value money. When society as a whole, individually and collectively, is the employer of labor, the distributor of the goods, and the consumer of the wealth produced, when wealth cannot be re-invested, and consequently no one could be interested in hoarding wealth, then the medium of exchange can logically be based only upon human labor itself, i. e., upon social labor time. The history of the development of money shows plainly this tendency and already to-day we can see articles of value, withdrawn from circulation and a bill, or more recently, a bankcheck take its place. Thus the germ is unfolding itself that will reach its full development under Socialism.

In a society where the means of production will be owned and operated by society it is plain that every improvement made in the instruments of production will of necessity rebound to the benefit of society as a whole; and as each member would be a co-owner, co-worker and co-sharer, so would be, of course, as an individual, he benefited in the same measure as the collectivity was benefited; hence, for the first time in the history of machinery could there exist harmony between man, the means of production and the products of labor. To-day "labor saving machinery" crushes labor. Then it will minimize toil and increase the enjoyment of the laborer.

Now, in every society that has existed, the morals, ethics, religions, the family life and the customs and laws have been the direct outgrowth of the economic conditions of the people; consequently, with the establishment of Socialism and the then radically changed economic conditions of the Socialist republic, there would be effected wonderful changes in morals, manners and laws. When each with a reasonable expenditure of labor could honestly produce the necessities of life, petit larceny or even grand larceny, either forced by direct want, or the desire for property as an exploiting factor, could have no place. Neither could the thousands of other crimes committed

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE DREAMER AND THE SOCIALIST TOWARD IT.

at the altar of the almighty dollar. In short, under proper and harmonious conditions morality would receive such an impulse as never entered the wildest dreams of our sweet-as-honey moralists of to-day. The relations between man and man would at least stand a fair show of being harmonious, not of the "brotherhood of man" renunciation kind, but as those of equals in transaction with equals.

The family relations, if no more radical change takes place, would at least be freed from the evil influences of a husband and father, either overworked or out of work; of a wife and mother obliged to seek work in factory, or to otherwise try to supplement the meager earnings of her husband, or else, have to scant and scrimp forever to make both ends meet. Moreover, the family will, namely, that of little children having to be freed from the worst influence of all, work in factory, mill and store, and having to grow up surrounded by ignorance, exposed to excessive toil; perhaps at times to starvation and cold, physically and mentally stunted; and, instead of receiving moral and mental training are subjected to the immoral influences of factory life.

Again, when law and order cease to be exercised in the interests of a privileged ruling class, then there would, without doubt, be less physical force and more justice; less red tape and more righteousness.

These are the main features of the Socialist republic discernible at present. As far as any details are concerned we can well afford—and must, whether we wish or not—to leave them to future generations to work out. If the workers of this generation, downtrodden, abused, ignorant and deprived of opportunities, bearing the badge of the servitude of the ages, can rise to their feet, organize their forces, conquer their numerous enemies and victoriously rear the Socialist republic, they will accomplish far greater feats than are left for the future generations to work out. To organize the workers into a solid phalanx that neither the power of the capitalist nor the treachery of their lieutenants can break; to inspire them with class-consciousness; to arouse their dignity as a class destined to strike the final blow for human emancipation by conquering the political power, is the work of the revolutionary Socialist of to-day. To teach the modes and methods and tactics of revolution and to carry the working class over the threshold of the Socialist republic, that is the duty, and the grand task of the Socialist Labor Party. That done, its mission in human history is fulfilled. The future then will take care of itself.

Olive M. Johnson.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## THE SEVEN FORMULATED BY J. J. HILL ANALYZED AND APPLIED.

Now, didn't the "Social Democratic" alias "Socialist" party fuse with other political parties in certain places? Does it not retain members who have accepted political jobs from capitalist political office holders? Does it not allow many of its members to run for office on other political party tickets? Does it not include the American Federation of Labor and its president, Mr. Samuel Gompers? Did not leading members of the so-called "Socialist" party vote for Mr. Gompers at the A. F. of L. convention? Did not the so-called "Socialist" party applaud and endorse President John Mitchell of the coal miners' union? Do those "unions" and those presidents endorse and uphold and work hand in hand with an independent political party of the working class which stands squarely for the collective ownership by all the people of all the industrial plants and resources of the nation? No, indeed! It is only the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance which does that. And it is only the Socialist Labor Party which is an independent political organization of the working class which stands squarely for the collective ownership by all the people of all the industrial plants and resources of the nation.

Make no mistake! The "Social Democratic" alias "Socialist" party is a fraud. Does it not stand by Mr. James F. Cary, who was first elected to public office as common councilman in the city of Haverhill, Mass., on the platform of the Socialist Labor Party, and after his election, turned traitor and joined the so-called "Social Democracy"? And when he was councilman, did he not vote for an appropriation by the city of \$15,000 for an armory? And does he not say that he would do the same again? He has a letter in the Boston Sunday Globe of March 1 in which he alleges that "armaments" are "unnecessary." Then why did he vote for a \$15,000 appropriation for an armory? And why does he say that he would do it again? Well, he said the armory should comply with sanitary conditions. In other words, he thinks that it is essential to look after the health of those who are drilling to shoot down the wage slaves when called upon to do so by the political lackeys of the capitalist class. He thereby shows himself to be such a lackey. Oh, what "jobsters" are there not among the workers!

Now to secret No. 2 "Be honest!" Even as Mr. Hill is "earnest" in his efforts to "bluff" the workers, in order that he and his class may retain possession of the political powers of the government and thereby retain possession of the "railroads," "steamships," etc., so, must you, fellow wage earner, "be earnest" in an "honest" effort to correctly organize your class in order that you and your class may obtain possession of the political powers of the government and thereby obtain possession of the "railroads," "steamships," etc., for the benefit of all.

Secret No. 3. "Be confident." From Mr. James J. Hill's standpoint, this would mean, "Be confident" that you can "do others" or "work others" and become a "multi-millionaire" like me; inasmuch as it is out of the question to become a "multi-millionaire" or, even a very small part of one, without "doing others."

I would say to the wage earner, "be confident" that your class will perform its historic mission; namely, oust the capitalists from power and take possession of its own. Let the fact that your fellow wage earners, through some of their strikes and boycotts, are seen to rebel against capitalist tyranny, inspire you with confidence as to their inherent fitness to ultimately emancipate themselves from wage slavery.

The strikes are the forerunners of the social revolution. Remember John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry prior to the emancipation of the negroes from chattel slavery. Remember the Boston Tea Party prior to the great American Revolution of 1776. Are the genuine attempts of the workers at the present time to better their condition more foolish in themselves than those historic deeds?

"Oh, but the Socialists will sell out to the capitalists as fast as they are elected to office," says some one. Don't you believe it. No true Socialist will turn traitor. It may be quite an easy matter for a Cary to turn traitor at this stage of the game. But, please remember that when Benedict Arnold turned traitor to the revolutionists of '76 that he had to make up his mind to escape with his life at the same time. And, as the revolutionary spirit of Socialism gathers greater force, as the workers become more and more imbued with the spirit of '76, there will be less and less danger of any "selling out." There will be infinitely more to gain by not "selling out." The Socialist Labor Party asks no quarter from the enemy, nor will it give any to the enemy. "Be confident."

Secret No. 4. "Be alert." Yes, fellow wage earner, "be alert." Remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." So, look out for bogus Socialists!

Secret No. 5. "Be truthful." The capitalists are so truthful! Just consider the large number of commodities advertised for sale; each capitalist concern claiming that its particular brand, thing or kind is the "best." According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, which is generally considered to be a "truthful" and standard work, nearly every article of commerce is adulterated. Besides there are any amount of fake and shoddy goods manufactured. "Be truthful!" "Be honest!" Indeed? Yes, fellow wage earner, be true to your class interests and out the hypocrites.

Secret No. 6. "Rise early." When I used to carry mail to the residences of capitalists, I noticed particularly that the servants were about the only ones up on the early morning delivery. I am acquainted with a letter carrier who used to take his mail bag from his shoulder regularly every morning just before delivering its contents to the residences of wealthy capitalists, and pause long enough to shake his fist and utter a few curses in behalf of the wealthy inmates who were soundly sleeping in their costly beds while he was ascending their front door steps with his heavy load. How many an overworked wage slave that would not like to be abed in the morning and sleep it out and then stretch and yawn and yawn and straighten out his overworked limbs? It may be all right to "rise early" if one has been thoroughly rested and feels just like it; but not, if otherwise.

Secret No. 7. "Study causes." Yes, fellow wage earner, "study causes," and understand that the great revolution in industry which has taken place during the past century right under our noses, whereby social labor has taken the place of individual labor, whereby it requires the co-operative labor of thousands of people to operate the great industrial plants of to-day, whereas, the small hand tools and implements of industry of our ancestors could be individually operated, understand then that the evolution of the tools of production have made those tools to-day social in their nature, that they have been produced by the social labor of the people, and that, consequently, they rightfully belong to the people who have produced them. And understand that the health and happiness and freedom of the people, depends upon the collective ownership by all the people (no dividing up) of all the industrial plants and resources of the nation—the erection of the Socialist Republic upon the ruins of the present diseased capitalist system of wage slavery and crime.

Granville F. Lombard.  
CONTRADICTIONS  
Of Capitalism—How They Affect the Working Class.

Beginning at the beginning, we find that the basis of capitalism is the private ownership of social capital. We find that an exclusive, idle/irresponsible body of private individuals, known as the capitalist class, own the means of producing the wealth that society needs, protects, develops and operates. They also appropriate most of the wealth produced by this capital. On the other hand, we find a useful, industrious, responsible wage-working class—the majority of society—who own no part of this capital and receive very little of the wealth produced by it.

Such a gigantic contradiction, eating its way into the very life of society, cannot possibly produce any fruits other than its kind—namely, social, political and religious institutions so corrupt as to form one solid mass of glaring absurdities. The entire capitalist system of production fairly bristles with them.

One of the most absurd contradictions of capitalism is the fact that the capitalist class demand that the wage-slave class shall be intelligent and educated, yet stupid and ignorant. Intelligent, educated and, therefore, highly productive wage slaves cause increased profits, although they may at any time use their intelligence in their own behalf at the ballot box, and cause increased nightmares to their employers—the capitalist class. Stupid, ignorant and, therefore, less productive wage slaves cause proportionately less profits, although they may at any time, because of their ignorance, being blind to their interests at the ballot box, cause unnecessary bloodshed.

It was in this sense that Frederick Engels, the great Socialist thinker and writer, in his work, "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," remarked that the capitalist class will ever have good cause to fear the ignorance of their wage slaves as long as they remain stupid, and their intelligence as soon as they become revolutionary.

One of the most hideous and cruel contradictions of capitalism is the fact that the interests of the capitalist class are best served by a reign of peace, when their wage slaves can be exploited not only profitably, but without interruption. Yet those same profits, when accumulated in the form of commodities beyond the power of the working class at home to buy, produce an overproduction, so called, which is really an under-consumption on the wage-slave side of the question. This results in periodical panics and crises, which the capitalist class can only partially avoid by finding foreign customers for the surplus commodities stolen from the working class at home.

The capitalist class of each nation steals in precisely the same manner from its own working class, and there arises

international competition for markets between the capitalist class of one nation as against the capitalist class of all other nations similarly situated, in order to get rid of their stolen plunder. But markets can, for the above reasons, only be captured and held by war. Hence the wage slaves, those whose very productivity and exploitation have caused war, are induced to enlist and become food for cannon, in order that one or the other of the two contending capitalist nations may win a market, while the wage slaves of both nations die on the field of battle for the glory and benefit of capitalism and wage slavery—i. e., in the Philippines, Cuba, South Africa and China.

A tremendous contradiction inherent in the capitalist system of production is the fact that while it is corner-stoned upon wage slavery and could not exist without it, yet, differing from all other previous social systems, capitalism makes its corner stone, wage slavery, unbearable and, therefore, impossible by ever increasing speed and intensity during production on one hand and its periodical crises on the other, when millions of wage slaves are thrown out of employment, leaving them to steal or starve when production is stopped. Thus pushed beyond all human endurance, capitalism does not allow its wage slaves time to readapt themselves to the resulting degrading conditions as fast as these conditions present themselves.

These causes discontent, that is necessarily intelligent, in proportion as it manifests itself on all sides, in a desire to overthrow capitalism, and is perfectly natural and in accordance with the very first law of natural existence—self-preservation. Furthermore, it is hardly probable that the working class will wait until they are reduced to a rat and rice diet, caused by the capitalist class flooding the markets of the world with Chinese commodities, stolen from 185,000,000 wage slaves in China.

The capitalist class occupies a contradictory position, inasmuch as it needs a large reserve army of unemployed wage slaves with which it can beat the employed army of wage slaves into submission whenever occasion requires; yet, it is this very army of unemployed wage slaves who are most discontented and who are most feared, owing to the fact that the socialist movement grows in proportion to the growth of the industrial reserve army of wage slaves.

Since we know the capitalist system by the fruits it bears, we, the working class of the world, propose to abolish the contradictions of capitalism by abolishing the capitalist system. Wage slavery, with all its hideous contrasts, will remain the lot of the working class, until that class abolishes capitalism, the cause of wage slavery, and substitutes socialism.

Louis Ballhaus.  
Toronto, Canada.  
The American Humane Society, of Boston, offers a \$200 prize for a plan to settle strikes. If strikes could be settled by \$200 prize plans the end achieved would be cheaply attained. The capitalist class has spent that many millions for the same purpose, but without avail. Socialism is the only thing that will settle strikes.

At the banquet of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association it was stated that "the shoe factories of the country can produce in five months all the shoes that are needed in a full year of trade." As a result the curtailment of production was advised. This condition is typical of most capitalist industries. It is this ability to produce in excess of actual consumption that creates the "overproduction" that is chronic with capitalism. Under Socialism this ability would be a means of increasing the material well-being of the working class. Under capitalism it is the cause of crises, war and social chaos.

The president of the American Leather Company has brought the old business saying that "competition is the life of trade" up to date, but amending it to read "combination is the elixir of life." This is true of all business excepting that of the small man. There is no elixir in combination for him. He has to rely on the anti-trust galvanic battery for sufficient vitality to enable his dying body to move. His case is hopeless at that.

The refusal of the Waterville trolley company to arbitrate the strike now being waged against it has been followed by a threat of a general strike in all the industries of the city. There are indications that the employers will anticipate this move by a general shut-down and an attempt to reopen with non-union men. Thus the reaction against arbitration is in full swing and the irrepressible class struggle goes on in an intensified form, overthrowing all attempts to side-track it or run it into the ground.

## AUTHORIZED AGENTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

(Continued from page 2.)  
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—F. A. Nagler, 141 Highland street.  
SUTHERLAND, N. Y.—Cyril Sisk.  
SYRACUSE, N. Y.—J. Trainor, Room 14, Myers Block.  
TACOMA, WASH.—C. M. Carlson, 3609 So. J street.  
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA.—Percy Rep. Bracondale, P. O.  
TROY, N. Y.—G. F. Bussey, 93 6th avenue, 6th floor.  
TWO HARBORS, MINN.—V. C. Konecny.  
UTICA, N. Y.—John Napp, 23 Niagara avenue.  
WILKINSBURG, PA.—J. A. McConnell.  
WINNIPEG, MAN., CAN.—Andrew Walther, 209 Austin street.  
WOBURN, MASS.—N. Peter Nelson, 14 Prospect street.

## SECRETS OF SUCCESS

**Honesty, Earnestness, Confidence, Alertness, Truthfulness, Early Rising and Study, From the Standpoint of Capitalist and Wage-Worker.**

In the New York Journal of March 1 there appears a picture of Mr. James J. Hill, capitalist, and some words of advice entitled, "The Seven Secrets of Success," by James J. Hill, Who Lived in a Log Cabin and Chopped Wood for a Living—Now Multi-Millionaire Railroad President and Steamship Owner. The "secrets" are as follows: 1. "Be honest." 2. "Be earnest." 3. "Be confident." 4. "Be alert." 5. "Be truthful." 6. "Rise early." 7. "Study causes."

Now, let us take up these "secrets" in their order and see what their true application is to Mr. James J. Hill as capitalist, and also to the wage earner. First, "Be honest." Now, what does Mr. Hill's honesty mainly consist of at the present time? It consists of appropriating unto himself the productive results of other people's toil. Is that honesty? Mr. Hill as "multi-millionaire railroad president and steamship owner" is a large employer of labor. The labor he employs is of two kinds, mental and muscular. The possessors of the mental and muscular labor power produce wealth for Mr. Hill, who pays back to them, in the shape of wages, a small portion of the wealth which they produce.

It will be seen that it is not by virtue of any "honest" toil on his part, that Mr. Hill obtains wealth now. But it is by virtue of his ownership of the "railroads," "steamships," etc., by virtue of his ownership of the means of life, that he is now in a position to say to the workers, "Your labor and the bulk of its productive results, or your life" in the words with the same principle that the highwayman, by virtue of his possession of a revolver which he levels at the head of his victim says to him, "Your money or your life."

When Mr. Hill "chopped wood for a living," he may have realized that he was one of the squeezed; and, he may have concluded that he would, if possible, become one of the squeezers instead. But, it is quite impossible for all to become capitalist leeches; because, as the first place, it requires the co-operative or social labor of thousands of toilers to run the industries of to-day; and, in the second place, it requires a lot of people, who, through circumstances, are ready and willing to be

fleece, in order for one, like Mr. Hill, to become a capitalist vampire. So it turns out that being "honest" as la James J. Hill, is being foolish in over nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand. And, in his own case, it is being anything but "honest."

Now, what must the wage earner do in order to "be honest" and succeed? I think it was Shakespeare who said "To thine own self be true." I believe in that. But, what must a wage earner do in order to be true to himself? Must he be true to the capitalist? If the interests of the capitalists and the wage earners are identical as the labor misleaders would have us believe, then that would be the proper thing. But Mr. James J. Hill is reported to have said quite recently (February 8) in an interview that "we can't meet the prices of German and English manufacturers and pay the wages which the unions compel."

He also said, "As labor unions killed industrial England, so are they destined to bring about a grave financial reverse in the United States, and the country is swiftly approaching that crisis. It may come in a year, it may be deferred till the presidential year, but it is bound to come."

So now, fellow wage earner, if you want to be true to the capitalist, if you want to prevent a "crisis," then break up your "unions" and get ready to have your hides peeled some more. Get ready to work for less "wages" than "the unions compel." Remember that those words were spoken by a man living in this country—this country with its great natural resources and the wonderful machinery now in use whereby it is possible to produce enormous quantities of wealth with comparatively very little labor—enough wealth for all to enjoy and live in comfort and even luxury without any one overworking. Yet, according to Mr. Hill, the workers must get along with God-knows-how-small a pittance, or there is "bound" to be a "crisis."

"Oh," says Mr. Wage Earner, "then I'll not be true to the capitalist, but I'll be true to the union." Ah! "True to the union!" Were not the railroad men at Chicago "true to the union" when Mr. Grover Cleveland sent the federal troops into the State of Illinois? Were not the coal miners at Hazelton "true to the union" when a posse of deputies, headed by Sheriff Martin, shot some of them in the back? Were not the iron workers at Homestead, Pa.,

"true to the union" when they were fired at by Pinkerton thugs? Were not the Brooklyn trolley men "true to the union" when they struck to enforce the ten hour law? But, didn't Governor Flower, who had himself signed the ten-hour bill, call out the State militia to break up the strike? Were not the coal miners in the recent strike "true to the union" when, after a long strike, Mr. John Mitchell ordered them back to work?

The history of being "true to the union" shows that the capitalist political arm of the law is ever ready to be brought into action to brow-beat and humiliate the "true to the union" wage slaves whenever they do nothing more than be "true to the union." What then must the wage earner do in order to be true to himself? He must be true to his class. But how shall he be true to his class? Answer. By being true to an independent political organization of his class, that stands clearly and fearlessly for the collective ownership by all the people of all the industrial plants and resources of the nation. A political organization that will not fuse or confuse or allow any of its members to fuse or confuse with any other political organization. Such a political organization is the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

The wage earner, in order to be true to himself, must also be true to a trade unionism that endorses and upholds and works hand in hand with such a political organization as the Socialist Labor Party; thus carrying on the fight against the capitalist in the shop and also on the political field systematically and simultaneously. Such a trade unionism is the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada. It works hand in hand with the S. L. P., to the end that the workers may all become free—

That Liberty Bell may with glad tidings ring.  
To the death of that monster—the capitalist king.

"But what is the matter with the 'Social Democratic' or 'Socialist' party," I hear some one say. Well, now, haven't I just been telling you that a political organization that is true to the working class, and that stands squarely for the collective ownership by all the people of all the industrial plants and resources of the nation, must not fuse or confuse or allow any of its members to fuse or confuse with any other political organization?



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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,080  
In 1892.....21,157  
In 1896.....36,564  
In 1900.....34,191  
In 1902.....53,617

## THE AWARD.

After months of trial, during which 538 witnesses were heard and a full week was given to closing arguments, and after more than a month was consumed by the Commission in digesting all this evidence and argument, the award on the anthracite strike is rendered. The award is a victory, essentially, aye, in many respects explicitly so—for the mine-owners. It is correspondingly a defeat for the mine-workers. Considering, moreover, that, morally, the cause of the whole working class was in the balance, the award amounts to a deliberate and well aimed blow at American Labor.

What are the determining clauses of the award?

Is it the granting of a 10 per cent. rise in wages? Such a 10 per cent. "victory" was scored by these identical miners three years ago, and greeted by Mitchell as a triumph, greeted as such by the identical Mitchell who, during this strike, proved that the "victory" of three years ago was a snare and a delusion. Identical conditions now establish the identity of the value of the present 10 per cent. raise.

Is it the reduction of hours of labor for some of the men? Closely scanned this concession will be found to have so many strings to it that it is essentially a farce.

What, then, are the determining features of the award? They are these:

First: The express declaration that "the conditions of the life of the mine-workers outside the mines" have been painted unduly black;

Second: The express declaration that "the social conditions in the mining communities are good"; (1 1)

Third: The implied declaration that child labor is due to the greed and cruelty, not of the mine-owners, but of the mine-workers, seeing that their wages "are not so low as necessarily to force them to put their small children to work"; (1 1 1)

Fourth: The express declaration that "the average daily rate of earnings in the anthracite regions does not compare unfavorably with that of other industries." To sum up what the Commission announces amounts to this:

"Whereas, The mine-workers' earnings are substantially those of the working-men in other industries; and

Whereas, The social conditions of the mine-workers are good; and

Whereas, Whatever outrageous conditions the children of these mine-workers suffer under are due to the greed of the parents; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the social conditions of the American working class are good; and be it further

Resolved, That to strike for better conditions and calling that a war between capital and labor is treason to the United States, because "there is only one war-making power recognized by our institutions, and that is the Government of the United States."

Is such an award preposterous?

Yes,—if the condition of the working class is considered; if it is considered that it produces phenomenal wealth and receives for its reward phenomenal distress: sudden death by "accidents," shortened life through the gradual sapping of its health, poverty and dependence.

No,—if it is considered that John Mitchell, the "general," who led the strike, led the revolutionary spark of the strike into the ground by injecting into the veins of the workers the opiate of the "brotherhood of capitalists and workmen," emphasized the aspirations of the Amer-

ican working class by inducing one half of his organization, the bituminous miners, to scab on their anthracite fellow wage-slaves, and crowned his work of treason by placing the Cause of Labor tied hand and foot before a tribunal fitly ornamented by such a lieutenant of the capitalist class in Labor's ranks as E. E. Clark of the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors.

Such are the "victories" of pure and simple Trades Unionism. And such are the "victories" that the Socialist Labor Party, jointly with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, has raised its banner to put an end to.

## UNIONS OF NON-UNIONMEN.

Among the phenomena that the seething caldron of American capitalism is casting on the canvas, the present movement of non-unionmen to organize anti-union unions takes front rank. What does it mean?

From certain quarters it is stated the Movement is initiated by the employers. This charge deserves little notice, it seems the quarter it comes from. It comes from the quarter where Tobin and Tobinism are conspicuous. It is to-day no longer a matter open to discussion that Tobinism is a creature of capitalism. The Tobin "contracts" demonstrate the fact that, without the aid and command of the shoe manufacturers, the bulk of the rank and file would not be paying dues to Tobin. These dues, extorted from the pockets of the workers, are a sort of shifted blackmail paid by the employers to Tobin to be left with a free hand to do as they please in the shop. The blackmail is shifted by the employers on to the shoulders of their employees. Tobinism is typical of the quarters from which the charge comes that the new movement is "an employers' move." If it were it would be no worse than Tobinism itself. But is it?

Experience shows that the overwhelming majority of the workmen is outside of the pale of Tobinism, or pure and simple trades unionism. Experience further shows that, of that overwhelming majority, the overwhelming majority once was within the pale of Tobinism. They are not now there. Why? They found themselves duped, and withdrew in disgust. Disgusted with unionism, such as they experienced the thing, they threw the whole thing overboard. They washed out the bath with the baby. In the course of events this overwhelming majority learned a thing or two. Among the things they learned was the inherent weakness of unorganized, and the inherent strength of organized man. Organized Tobinism proved itself powerful against unorganized anti-Tobinism. This lesson, once learned, naturally led to the organizing of anti-Tobinism. And this it is that lies at the bottom of the movement of non-unionmen to organize anti-union unions. Accordingly, the move is a healthy breath of bona fide unionism.

It is to be hoped that this new form of new unionism will not, like the old article, be warped from the right line of development. It is to be hoped that in raising its breastworks against Tobinism, it will find that the new breastworks will be out-flanked, unless they are raised against Capitalism—Tobinism being but a division of Capitalism itself.

## A NOVEL MOVE.

For several weeks back rumors have been rife of "troubles" on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. The rumors presently gathered shape. The shape was certain demands made upon the Company by a joint committee of two branches of the road, the conductors and the trainmen. So far the men.

Now as to the Company. It ever is the rule that when employees of the several departments of a Company join to present grievances, the Company's first endeavor is to separate the departments. The Companies proceed upon the claim that all together cannot do justice to each, the one department "not understanding the other." Obviously the move is a strategic one. The Companies' purpose is to dislocate the solidarity of Labor. That has been the rule. It has especially been the rule with the railroad Companies, whence the spectacle has been seen again and again in the land of one "Brotherhood" of railroad workers scabbing it upon the other.

And now comes the N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. Company, and takes an entirely new tack. In its answer to the conductors and trainmen it points out that "there are other employees of the Company not represented by said committee whose wages may also fairly require some adjustment, and these must all be considered together." This is a new departure.

It goes without saying that it cannot be the purpose of the Company to weld its Labor forces into a solid mass. It goes without saying that it cannot be the Company's purpose to give its Labor forces a lecture on the maxim "Divided we fall, united we stand." But this other is equally true, to wit, that capitalism itself raises the recruits that shall overthrow it. To a certain extent capitalism also drills and organizes these recruits. It does so obedient to the law that marks it Ichabod. Is it possible that that law works in such way that capitalism will, thinking to save its neck, force its wage slaves to get together, and point out to them that the true system of organization is by industry, and not by subdivisions of the same industry?

## THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY.

There is a belief prevalent among the working class that the political parties of capitalism—the Republican and Democratic—differ widely in policies of national legislation; and that, therefore, one ought to be favored to the exclusion of the other in the interests of the working class. While this belief appears to be verified by the speeches and statements of the leading representatives of the capitalist parties, an examination of the most conspicuous acts passed by the recent Congress, proves that this belief has no basis in fact; that these acts were passed by so-called non-partisan votes; in other words, by votes that were cast regardless of party policies.

Such an examination discloses, at the outset, that both parties voted solidly for the bill repealing the tariff on coal. In so doing they eliminated "the tariff issue" between them. Next we find them voting almost solidly for the "anti-trust" legislation favored by the administration, and inspired by powerful capitalist interests. This eliminates the alleged differences between them regarding trust legislation. Finally, we see them voting practically unanimously on the Panama Canal Treaty, a measure which has been denounced as one of the most gigantic pieces of jobbery proposed in several decades. This eliminates all differences as to "patriotic zeal," "moral fitness," etc., and shows them to be tarred with the same commercial stick.

All these acts have been clearly passed in the interests of the capitalist class; for the enactment of the above national legislation in no way removes the workers from the influence of labor-displacing machinery and the law of supply and demand of labor, which, operating together, keep the wages of the workers down to the subsistence point.

On the other hand, this examination will disclose the fact that while the parties of capitalism have just acted solidly in the interests of the capitalist class, they have also acted solidly against the interests of the working class. Let the worker ask himself "What labor law have these Republican and Democratic legislators passed? Have they passed the eight hour bill?" Echo answers "Have they?"

Workingmen, get rid of this wrong belief. As at present constituted, the Democrats and Republicans, aided by their decoy ducks, the "Socialists," alias "Social Democrats," are capitalist parties, whose sole policy is to serve the capitalist and not the working class. They TALK of your interests, while they VOTE for those of your masters. Throw them overboard. Join the Socialist Labor Party. Spread its principles. Adhere to its tactics. The Socialist Labor Party is the party of the working class. Only when its candidates are elected to office, will there be a difference of policies in national legislation in the interests of the working class. The policies then in vogue will be that of Socialism versus capitalism. Hasten the day!

## "THE RAPID RISE OF OREN ROOT, JR."

The capitalist class is just now busy exploiting "the rapid rise of Oren Root, jr., at twenty-nine years of age, from motorman to the executive head of the Metropolitan Street Railway system." Great, very great, stress is laid "on the hard work and concentration to duty in the interests of the system," that won for young Root the position he now occupies. Very little, however, is made of the fact that young Root's father is a man of influence, being a college professor, while his uncle is the great and powerful secretary of the Navy, Elihu Root, who is solicitous of the welfare of the young men of the capital class, and to whom the magnates of the Metropolitan Street Railway system are indebted for favors received.

debted for favors received.

To have given this phase of young Root's career any emphasis would destroy the effect that the exploitation of his "rapid rise" would have on the dividends of the Metropolitan Street Railway system. This "rapid rise" will serve to instill in the minds of the tens of thousands of employees of the Metropolitan system the absurd belief that they, too, can succeed as young Root is alleged to have succeeded. They will work hard and concentrate their attention on their duties in the interest" of the company. One out of ten thousand will get a prize every decade or two, while the remainder will stay right where they are, sweating away their lives at meagre wages and long hours, amid increasing exactions and hardships. In their desire for individual success they will sacrifice their solidarity as workmen, play "the sucker" on one another, and stand in their own way should they desire at any time to move unitedly against the conditions that oppress them. All this for an exceptional position, a delusion to the great majority of them called "a rapid rise."

These "rapid rises" put money in the pockets of the capitalist class, in the form of increased profits extracted from the increased labor of their deluded workmen; hence their exploitation by the capitalist press.

Capitalism, owing to the development of machinery and the subdivision of labor, is sinking the working class into conditions from which it is increasingly difficult to rise. The working class can only rise with the overthrow of capitalism. All other rises are capitalist deceptions.

## TROUBLOUS TIMES AHEAD.

There is abundant evidence of a violent reaction in capitalist circles against the sophistical and misleading attempt of the Civic Federation to reconcile the irreconcilable interests of employer and employee. This reaction has manifested itself in many localities in the organization of employers into federations, as a necessary preliminary to open warfare with the opposing organizations of employees. In other places the reaction has manifested itself in vigorous hostility—in the unscrupulous use of militia and courts and the summary lockout and discharge of employees.

The necessity for this reaction—for it is regarded as vitally necessary by those engaging in it—has been attributed to many causes by prominent capitalists. One set of these capitalists claims that the demands arising out of labor conditions in this country have so enhanced the cost of production that it is impossible for them to compete successfully in the markets of the world. Exports, say they, will therefore decline, and the commercial supremacy and economic prosperity of the country will thereby be imperilled.

These capitalists point to the alleged detrimental effects of trades unionism on the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain. They point out that these effects were only partly overcome by the crushing defeat of the great engineers' strike in the nineties and the recent Taff Vale decision holding trades unions liable for strike damages. They proclaim the necessity of similar action in this country, arguing that the losses occasioned by a stoppage of industry will be more than returned by the beneficial results to the capitalist class, that will follow.

A second set of these capitalists claims that the "coddling" of labor "leaders," involved in the continuance of the Civic Federation fraud, has given rise to an arrogance among labor unions which crops out in illegal and arbitrary acts that violate the sacred principles of capitalism, such as the rights of property, of work, of the capitalist control of industry, apprentices, output, and other things too numerous to mention. Like the first set of their capitalist compatriots, this set points to the economic dangers entailed in such a policy and demands its reversal by a resort to organization on the part of employers, and a rigorous application of "law and order."

With the views of these two sets of capitalists converging toward decisive organization and action the battle for capitalist supremacy promises to be a comprehensive and bitter one. There are troublous times ahead.

The blame for this condition of affairs lies with the capitalist class itself. In order to capture the markets of the world and find an outlet for the products of its overcapitalized and trustified industries, the capitalist class of this country formed a treacherous compact with the labor "leaders," by means of which the Civic Federation was launched.

The Civic Federation was a success, as

far as its commercial aim is concerned. But, in accomplishing this end the capitalist class created conditions which are now redounding to its injury. In order to dupe the labor unions and insure dividends on their overcapitalized industries the capitalist class raised wages in some industries and prices in all of them. This created such an increased cost of living that the increase of wages far from sufficed to meet the difference. The result has been a widespread disaffection and a demand for more wages that the labor fakirs could not ignore nor suppress. The results have been increased strikes, with the customary violence also increased.

Again, the labor "leaders," exerting the power of the influence growing out of their connection with the capitalist class in the interests of certain capitalists, e. g. Mitchell and Hanna vs Baer and others, precipitated a clash among the capitalists themselves. These labor "leaders" also used this influence against the capitalists themselves, in their own political and economic interests, with the result that there is a growing capitalist demand for their overthrow.

Thus the capitalist class created conditions within the working class, as controlled by the labor fakirs, and the capitalist class, that made the reaction against the Civic Federation inevitable.

The Socialist Labor Party views this reaction with philosophic calmness. Knowing that the interests of employer and employee are antagonistic and that to attempt to reconcile them is to attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, it laughed at the wisecracks who pronounced the Civic Federation "a blow at Socialism," and awaited the results, which are just as anticipated.

Though the Socialist Labor Party thus views this reaction, it also sees in it a favorable opportunity to disseminate the true doctrines on the relations of the capitalist and the working class; that is, it finds the opportunity a favorable one to spread the doctrines of Socialism.

Finding conditions so, it calls on all its members, friends and sympathizers "To work! There are troublous times ahead that only the truths of Socialism can right. On then with the propaganda of Socialism! On to the Social Revolution!"

The necessities of the working class often compel physical excesses that are dangerous to life. The following from the Evening Post of the 18th inst. is eloquent proof of the fact:

"John Connerty's refusal to go home and change his clothes after he had fallen in the East River yesterday, cost him his life, his dead body being found this morning in the hallway of the tenement house at No. 311 Cherry street. A Gouverneur Hospital doctor said that the man's death was undoubtedly due to exposure. Connerty was a 'longshoreman' and yesterday afternoon, while working on a canalboat, he fell into the river. His clothes were dripping wet, but rather than be docked half a day's pay the man continued to work in his water-soaked clothes. Towards the end of the afternoon Connerty appeared to be suffering greatly from a chill, but he worked up to the hour of six."

It is now in order for some "well-wisher of the working class" to arise and denounce "the lack of industry which too often characterizes the members of the working class." There are some men of this class who continue to use this argument after workmen have actually worked themselves to death!

The announcement that Charles Schwab has solved the problem of how to rest, should not be allowed to pass unquestioned. Such an announcement is an act of injustice to the generations of capitalists who had solved that problem, with an inherent ease, long before Schwab's advent into the capitalist world. In fact, it has long been a matter of common knowledge that resting has been made an exact science with the capitalist class and that they do nothing else but rest. Work! work! is their advice to their wage slaves, but rest is theirs by the divine rights of capitalism. "Let him who merits bear the palm," Charles Schwab should not bear the palm to the exclusion of his predecessors and contemporaries in the capitalist world.

Following the "community of interest" plan for taking care of capital, the leading steel and iron manufacturers and electors have formed a "community of interests" for taking care of labor, that is coercing and controlling it in their interests. Their combine is called a civic federation of iron firms. It would be more appropriate to call it a capitalist federation for the purpose of putting labor in irons.

Watterson claims that Cleveland blocks the bridge that leads to Democratic harmony. Following Wordsworth's advice to translate language into visual images, we can see with what ease the mountainous bulk of the stuffed prophet could block any bridge.

## THE GREAT SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The statement of Rev. Henry Van Dyke, professor of English literature in Princeton, that "A great social revolution is in sight," while remarkably significant as an expression of modern conservative thought in this country, is utterly misleading in its implied facts. The great social revolution is not, as the reverend professor of literature conveys to his hearers, to be seen in the distance; for the simple reason that it is already here. It is not coming from afar, but is already upon us. One need not be a prophet or a seer to divine its presence. One need not, as the keen Indian on the prairie does, listen to the winds, or glue his ears to the ground to hear its distant rumble. The din of the conflict attending it can be distinctly heard in the crack of the rifles of the militia in strikes, and in the fierce outcries of the middle class in its competitive and fatal struggles with the capitalist class. Legislatures seek to prescribe the rules of war in this great social revolution; courts attempt to suppress it; the newspapers devote columns on columns to reports of its battles; the magazines discuss it and propose measures for its relief, and even the most immovable body of men, the conservative clergymen, feels its successive shocks as their "alarming prophecies" vividly betray. The great social revolution is not a thing of to-morrow; it is the overshadowing and most vital fact of the day!

The great social revolution in whose midst we now find ourselves did not come like the thief in the night. It has developed gradually during the past century and a half. It is caused by the slow change in industry from small, individual production to large, social production; from the small cross-road shop employing one or two men, to the mammoth corporation mills, mines, railroads, etc., employing millions in many States and countries, continents apart. The great social revolution is caused by the slow change in industry from the scattered individual ownership of paltry capital to the international trustification of giant capital in the hands of the capitalist class.

The great social revolution has split society into warring, opposing classes, with conflicting interests. On one hand, there is a vast working class, the largest portion of society, on whose heads and shoulders rests the social structure. This class produces all the wealth, yet barely owns four per cent. of it; while its share of the wealth it produces in the form of wages is just enough for it to subsist and reproduce its kind. The wages of the men of this class either decline or remain stationary, while the value of the product and the cost of living advance by steady steps. The labor of the women and children of this class increases, both relatively and absolutely. On the other hand, there is a small class of capitalists, who, by their control of the finances of the country, own and control its industries, leaving their actual operation and management both to the men of the working class. This capitalist class dominates society. It is the master class and exploits the working class. All classes are dependent on and subordinate to it in church, university, law and legislation. It is supreme in all the institutions of the land. In between these classes is the middle class, small of capital, small of influence and small of hope. This class is crushed between the other two. It cannot meet the wage demands of the one, or the competition of the other. It is a dying class, that is being forced into the ranks of labor by the capitalist class. Such is the great social revolution. Such are its causes and results. What are its remedies?

The great social revolution, being due to the transformation of industry from small individual production to large social production, can only terminate successfully by making industry social in ownership also. The capitalist class must be abolished. It performs no useful function. By robbing the working class it precipitates strikes, panics, crises and war. By its ownership of the means of production and distribution it exercises an arbitrary and despotic control of society, crushing individuality and democracy and breeding class subservience and government. To abolish the capitalist class is to abolish the class war and to bring the great social revolution to a successful culmination.

To achieve such a culmination is the work of the working class. It alone is essential to social progress. It alone is growing in force and power. It alone is interested in the overthrow of capitalism.

On, then, with the work of educating, agitating and organizing the working class. On, with the great social revolution!

The announcement made by a capitalist trade journal that "the country maintains its prosperous level," shows a lack of economic geography. In a country possessing a few millionaires, who loom up like great mountains over the middle and working class hills and plains below, all talk of "a prosperous level" is out of order.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN. — Those ridiculous "anti-trust," "anti-octopus" shouters!

UNCLE SAM.—They are ridiculous. B. J.—Why, think of the increased productive powers of a trust: it is just like an improved machine. Who would go back to the hand loom or the stage coach? No one! (With increased enthusiasm.) An improved machine produces so much more wealth; so does the trust. The idiots who would "smash the trust!" they are no better than the idiots who wanted to smash the machine!

U. S.—You got that straight, none but idiots, or schemers who try to dupe the idiots, shout "Smash the Trust!"

B. J.—And think of the un-Americanism—

U. S.—The what?

B. J.—The un-Americanism of such an idea as the anti-trust notion!

U. S.—"Un-Americanism?"

B. J. (testily)—Yes; un-Americanism; did you understand that?

U. S.—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—Inasmuch as it is wholly an un-American attitude.

U. S.—That is very much like saying a thing is yellow inasmuch as yellow it is. Why is it "un-American" to want to smash the trust?

B. J.—Why? Just think of such a question! Don't you see it is "un-American"? Why, of course, you do.

U. S.—It don't see it.

B. J.—The devil, you don't? Why, man, trust-smashing simply flies in the face of the founders of this country.

U. S.—Now at least you have given a reason; it may be a bad one, but still a reason it is. Let's see. The founders of this country were the typical Americans, and their ways were typically "American?"

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—I say so, too.

B. J. (smiling)—You do?

U. S.—Certainly. But preserve your smiles. Now, then, tell me, did those founders of our country work with little capital or with big capital?

B. J. (beginning to look sober)—Hem! They worked with little capital.

U. S.—Each for himself?

B. J.—Yes—

U. S.—And did they produce large quantities of wealth?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—Such a thing as a single concern operating thousands of men did not exist?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—Or a big farm covering thousands of acres, all under cultivation?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—Consequently, the improved machinery of production implied in the trust was not known to them?

B. J.—No—

U. S.—And they worked with very small machinery—

B. J.—The devil take you! I see what you are driving at now.

U. S.—Cool, cool; no profanity. And can you escape from the trap? Can you escape the conclusion that it is the trust-smashers who are truly "American," while the trust upholders are the "un-American" ones?

B. J.—No, I can't. Then you, too, are a trust-smasher?

U. S.—Not much. The trust is an improved means of production; as such it is capable of being a blessing. The trouble with that improved means of production is that it is held by private holders and therefore it becomes a curse to the people. Those who want to smash it are truly "American" insofar as "Americanism" means the ways of our ancestors. If there is any honor in being over a hundred years behind the times, that honor surely belongs to the trust-smashers. But the intelligent man is not an oyster. He does not glory in immobility; on the contrary, his pride is the capacity to move onward. "Americanism" in the sense of the ways of our founders is a thing of the past. The trust, insofar as it is a means of improved production is good; we want that; and the same intelligence that shows us its excellencies shows us also its defects; we shall preserve its excellency by upholding it; we shall remove its defects by nationalizing it.

B. J. (swaying backward and forward and moaning)—Oh, my "Americanism," my "Americanism!"

U. S.—Is no good, eh?

B. J.—Seems not!

U. S.—Cheer up, old fellow. The true lover of the word "American" is not he that would keep us in our national childhood; nor he who would allow himself to be humbugged by the word, as you were doing; but he who, revering the past for all that it deserves, is ready to use that past as a stepping stone for higher reaches.







## OFFICIAL.

—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read street, New York.  
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY**—2-6 New Read street. (The Party's literary agency.)  
 Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that there are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

## CANADIAN N. E. C.

The regular meeting of the N. E. C. of Canada was held on March 20, Forbes being in the chair and C. Corbin absent and excused.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Communications—From Section Bradford, referring to the proposition re a uniform seal, the procuring of a speaker for "May Day," and for information regarding the Vancouver by-election. Comrade Pearson was appointed to procure a speaker, and the secretary to reply that we have communicated with Section Vancouver on this matter and will send the information as soon as received. From Section Toronto for supplies. From Burns, of Hamilton, in reply to letter from the N. E. C. After investigating this matter as thoroughly as possible and comparing his letter with the previous one, it was decided to reply that he has no authority according to his own statement to style himself organizer pro tem, and that his letter was not official, as he had not been instructed by the Section to write it. It was further decided to write Comrade Clive that we recognized him as organizer of the Section and that their first duties are to lay charges against those members whose actions have been complained of, and if unable to prove their innocence expel them forthwith.

The secretary was instructed to notify Section London that the term of the N. E. C. expires on the first of next month, and they must appoint auditors and elect another committee.

Philip Courtenay,  
 Recording Secretary.

## New York County Committee, S. L. P.

The regular meeting of the New York County Committee was held at Nos. 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan, on Saturday evening, March 14, 1903, chairman A. Moren; vice-chairman, E. Moonelis.

The minutes of previous meeting were read and adopted.

Credential committee reported credentials of Comrade L. Levy, of the Thirtieth and Thirty-third Assembly Districts, and Comrade John Donohue, of the Eleventh and Thirteenth Assembly Districts. Upon motion the report was received and delegates seated.

A communication from the Excelsior Literary Society was received and placed on file. Organizer reports that throw-aways for The Daily People Festival on March 22 are ready for distribution, also reports that quite some presents have been received up to date. He further reports having secured Cooper Union for May 2 to celebrate International Labor Day, and the Palace for January 16 for the Excelsior Literary Society's masquerade ball.

The matter of sending The Weekly People, with notice of Daily People concert on front page, to the enrolled voters, was then taken up, and it was decided to send the wrappers to the assembly districts to be addressed and returned to this office not later than Tuesday, March 17.

The Eleventh and Thirteenth Assembly Districts reported donation of \$1 to party organ, and that a lecture will be held Wednesday evening, March 18.

Sixteenth Assembly District reported that arrangements have been made for a new club house; also that each member has been pledged to give one day's wages to The Daily People before June 1.

Twentieth Assembly District reported one new member, and that each member has been assessed thirty cents to pay off debt owed Labor News Company.

Thirty-second and Thirty-third districts reported that they have donated \$10 to The Daily People and \$15 to the Labor News Company, and are also distributing leaflets among the enrolled voters.

The Thirty-fifth Assembly District reports that they have a large picture, "The Storm Centre," which they have given to the fair, which will be run in conjunction with the concert and ball on March 22, at Grand Central Palace. Also asks for German literature. It was decided to have Labor News Company print some as soon as possible.

The French and Bohemian branches were not represented by delegates.

Organizer was instructed to notify the Sixth and Tenth Assembly Districts of the maturation of their delegates to this body.

It was decided to have the manager of The Daily People get up a separate mailing list of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. voters and keep same for future use.

All those members who were appointed to assist at Daily People festival will please attend the meeting of the entertainment committee, to be held at Daily People building, Nos. 2 and 6 New Read street, on Tuesday evening, March 17.

Financial report—Receipts, \$84.70; expenses, \$71.95; balance on hand, \$12.75.

Adjournment followed.

J. Scherer, Recording Secretary.

**CONNECTICUT ATTENTION.**

To the sections and members of the S. L. P. of Connecticut: Comrades! As the time for nominating the seat of the

S. E. C. has expired, your S. E. C. submits, according to Art. II, Sec. 1, of the by-laws of the State of Connecticut, the nominations made, i. e.:

Hartford, nominated by Rockville, New Haven, nominated by Section Hartford, to the general vote of the membership, returnable on or before May 1, 1903.

For the Connecticut S. E. C.,  
 Matthew Lechner, Secretary,  
 4 Bellevue St., Hartford, Conn.

## FOR BAZAR AND FAIR.

The following is a further list of the presents received for the bazar and fair held last Sunday at Grand Central Palace. These presents were received in time and were exhibited at the fair, but could not be acknowledged until now, owing to other important work which had to be attended to first:

Mrs. Moskovitz, New York, set of forks; Mrs. Donohue, New York, pickle figure; Adolph Orange, New York, pickle dish, card receiver, three toy chairs; P. S., picture holder, candle stick; S. J. French, New York, two artistically decorated Easter eggs, four packages of little cigars and elegant hygienic pipe; L. P. Kuntz, half dozen fine cups and saucers; S. Ungerleider, New York, three dozen gold filled rings; Sympathizer, tea pot, two small vases, one figure; H. Hornmann, New York, two framed pictures, four pairs of fine garters, six boxes of beads, fancy handkerchiefs, four pairs babies' woolen shoes, two hair curling irons, two pin sets, half dozen purses, three mirrors with stands; Mrs. Roth, New York, parlor ornaments; John Donohue, New York, box of cigars; H. Deutscher, 25 pipe cigars; Sympathizer, scarf pin; L. Finkelstein, New York, two bottles of cologne, cake of fine soap; F. Frankel, New York; Ramband's "History of Russia"; Annie Schlueter, Boston, Mass., elegant tidy; Socialist Labor Club of Brooklyn, elegant leather lounge (oakwood frame); H. Feichlauf, Brooklyn, elegant framed photos; Max Friedberger, New York, two bamboo stools; D. Gerskowitz, New York, visiting card holder, lady's watch holder, pin cushion and button holder.

Mrs. S. Wilenkin, New York, fancy ornament, fine porcelain vase, bronze bust.

A. Mendel, Hoboken, N. J., two bottles of wine.

J. Carliph, New York, inkstands, pen and tray.

A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J., box of cigars and fancy paper napkins.

Miss Pauline Weiss, fancy cup and saucer, fine ornament and flute.

Mrs. Joseph Klein, New York, three fine vases.

Mr. and Mrs. Barthel, New York, two fine oil paintings.

William Schmidt, New York, two framed pictures, fancy writing paper and envelopes, and half dozen pieces of fancy glassware.

P. Friesma, Jr., Detroit, Mich., two fancy baby caps.

F. Hertz, Washington, D. C.—Four copies of the latest views of the City of Washington and one artistic calendar.

Frank J. Janke, Indianapolis, Ind.—Twenty-eight very fine photographs.

Max Menhaus, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Box of cigars and three boxes of fine writing paper.

J. Epstein, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Two framed pictures.

Mary Schaffer, New York—Pair of spectacles.

M. Tepper, New York—Two pairs of pantaloons and a match safe.

Max Heymann, New York—Twelve large-size cigars.

N. Tischenman, New York—Russian leather calf belt, ladies' seal pocket-book and gents' morocco card case.

Carl Zimmerman, Hoboken, N. J.—Sterling silver S. L. P. button.

Mrs. S. Moren, New York—Two fine cushions, three head rests and one vase.

Mrs. Tomoff, New York—One elegant Excelsior Literary Society—Two framed pictures, six base balls, two fobs, aluminum ink well, fancy cup and saucer, two rabbits, three match-holders, two china candle sticks, nickel plated bell, two toothpick holders, two china match-holders, four small figures, nut cracker set.

Sympathizer—Ladies' pocket book, desk knife, box of stationery, lamp tidy.

Oliver Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.—Baltenberg centre piece.

Mrs. Herschman, Hoboken, N. J.—Pair of slippers.

Mr. Herschman, Hoboken, N. J.—Tuxedo.

George Ginsberg, New York—Bottle of cologne.

Miss Herschowitz, New York—Ladies' hat.

S. Moskovitz, New York—Ten fine photographs.

F. G. Minshall—Eight fine framed pictures.

Mr. and Mrs. Max Heymann—Sofa cushion, box of forty fine mangles.

Miss Youonne Lafreniere, Midosup, Conn.—Fine sofa pillow.

Mrs. Rose, Stamford, Conn.—Sofa pillow and four beautiful metal match safes.

L. Abelson,  
 Organizer,  
 2-6 New Read Street, Manhattan.

## IMPORTANT FOR ESSEX COUNTY.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., will hold an important meeting at headquarters, No. 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J., on Sunday, March 29, at 3 p. m.

Daniel De Leon, of New York, will speak on "The Principles and Aims of the S. L. P. and the Party's Trades Union Policy."

Only members of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. admitted.

William Walker, Organizer.

## GREATER BOSTON ATTENTION!

Greater Boston Entertainment Committee take notice: All members of the G. B. E. C. are heartily requested to be present at the next meeting, which will take place Sunday, March 29, in S. L. P. Hall, G. A. R. Building, School street, Everett, at 3 p. m. sharp. Business of vital importance is to be transacted.

C. H. Chabot, Secretary.

## Important for Buffalo.

The readers of The People, their families and friends, are invited to attend the public lectures held every Sunday, at 3 p. m. sharp, at the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, No. 527 Main street, near Genesee street, Buffalo. Interesting and instructive discussions follow each lecture. Admission is free to all.

The following are the names of the lecturers and their subjects:

March 29.—Former Health Commissioner Dr. Ernest Wende on "Alcoholism."

April 5.—Alderman J. N. Adam on "Our City Government."

## OHIO DAILY PEOPLE FUND.

As per Washington State Committee plan: Section Cleveland, \$20.25; and the following, all of Cleveland, O.: A. Messner, \$2; Gns. Weickert, 75c; A. Priebe, 25c; C. H. Keller, 25c; A. Mielh, 25c; L. Franz, 25c; F. Gutman, 25c; F. Otsack, 25c; K. Fred, 25c; F. Leyritz, 25c; J. Krauss, 25c; V. Gurtz, 25c; F. Mayrall, 25c; A. Schramm, 25c; C. Emil, 25c. Total, \$26.50. On behalf of the Ohio State Committee, James Matthews, Secretary.

## SYRACUSE EUCHERE PARTY.

Section Onondaga County, Socialist Labor Party, will hold a progressive euchre party in Clinton Hall, Syracuse, on Monday evening, March 30, 1903. Admission, ten cents.

## S. T. &amp; L. A. NEWS

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, headquarters, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Read street.

General Executive Board meeting the second and fourth Thursday evening of every month at 7.30 o'clock, at above address.

All information as to organization and the aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A. will be gladly sent by mail on request.

Speakers will be furnished to address labor and trade organizations, as well as sections of the S. L. P. on new trades unionism.

Address all communications to John J. Kinneally, general secretary, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Read street, New York.

## WAITERS' MASS MEETING.

Rousing Speeches by Alliance Men—Fifteen New Members Admitted.

A rousing and successful agitation meeting was held Friday, March 20, under the auspices of L. A. 393, S. T. & L. A. (Independent Waiters' Union), at Grazi's Dancing Academy, Third avenue and Eighty-fourth street. Comrade Charles Perence, president of the union, spoke in the German language on the History of the German Waiters' Union of New York for the last eighteen years, and giving some good arguments that went home why every waiter of New York city should belong to the S. T. & L. A.

August Gilhaus then spoke in English and exposed the dirty and contemptible work done by the German Waiters' Union to his knowledge for the past five years. He then branched out on the necessity of waiters organizing not on the narrow craft lines of the pure and simple union, but on lines that will take in all employees employed at any one industry be he a laborer or a mechanic. He further spoke on the interest of labor as against the interest of the capitalist employer, and on labor as a commodity; also on the acts of the capitalist governments against the working class.

John J. Kinneally was the next speaker, who opened by declaring that the two things most essential for a true member of the S. T. & L. A. to possess were intelligence and the courage of his convictions. Explaining the necessity of reading and studying the literature and the official organ of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P., The Daily People, Kinneally then spoke on the effects of private owned machinery and the reserve army of the unemployed, and how both effected the waiters, showing how the waiter can become a bricklayer, mixing and laying concrete in place of bricks, and how the bricklayer, the typesetter, the weaver and the shoemaker, and now, the glass blower displaced by machinery, takes the places of the waiters.

The speaker then exposed the false principles of pure and simple trades unions and explained the true principles of the class interest of the workers upon which the S. T. & L. A. is founded, and closed by exhorting every member to become an organizer himself. Fifteen new members were admitted and twenty bundles of leaflets were disposed of. The meeting throughout was a grand success.

## D. A. 19, LYNN, MASS.

Meeting of District Alliance, No. 19, S. T. & L. A., will be held on Sunday, March 29, at 12 m., in headquarters, 26 Monroe street, Lynn, Mass. All attend.

Michael Tracey, Organizer.

## LADIES' TAILORS' UNION.

The regular meeting of Ladies' Tailors' Union, L. A. 390, S. T. & L. A., will be held Saturday, March 28, 8 p. m., at 231-33 East Thirty-third street. Members please take notice.

Organizer.

## IN SWEDEN

## The New Trend Taken by the Labor Movement.

There has been a good deal of unrest in the labor movement of Sweden recently, as the readers of The People well know. The very latest manifestations of that unrest are as interesting as anything else from the fields of labor, especially when, as in this case, the interrelations of the political and economic aspects of the movement are concerned. In order to make the situation somewhat clearer I will give a hasty review of things.

In Sweden, the political movement of labor has always relied upon the economic for its support, at the same time, as it may be considered to be to a great extent the creator of the trades unions. In 1898 the trades unions at a party congress were provided with a national executive body, called "Landsorganisationen," and thereby a great impetus was given to unionism in the whole country. Then, the stipulation was made, that all the new organized bodies should belong to the party, that is, they should become social democratic, i. e., political bodies, at the same time, and their absorption by the party should take place not less than two years from their formation. A couple of years later this bond was loosened considerably and the affiliation made optional with the concerned union itself. Branting himself favored this change, as did also the national secretary of Landsorganisationen, Lindkvist. The change did not affect the movement much, for as a rule the new formed unions within the originally intended space of time became parts of the political body. In the cities and towns of Sweden the local bodies of the political movement go by the name of labor communes (Arbetsare kommuner), which accordingly are made up of trades unions. Where there are no trades unions affiliated with the party, there is, therefore, no party organization either (there are possibly two or three exceptions to this rule).

It is important to know this form of organization if one wants to understand the situation that has now cropped up. In its infancy the Swedish political movement, small as it was, was fairly sound in its posture, principally theoretical as it, of necessity, was. But with increased vigor and volume, it became evermore and more "practical," and more and more "tolerant," less and less "fanatical," until one fine day in the year 1901, Branting, in the second of the university cities of Sweden, Lund, in the name of the party, made his official confession of faith, as it were, to "the new tendencies within social democracy" (that was the literal wording of his subject), tendered before an audience of mostly university professors and scholars. The movement has at the present time twelve newspapers, and all of them follow faithfully in the path struck by Branting, who is surely the most clever politician, if not the most intelligent, among all the party editors, being at the same time head editor of the principal paper, Social Demokraten. As to the papers, they are, if I am not very much mistaken, owned by the "Communes," i. e., de facto by the trades unions.

And now to the burning question of the day. Soon after the lost political strike last summer, which was followed by several economic strikes and lock-outs that were, of course, also lost to labor, an agitation was begun, particularly among those having been "economically" licked by "brother capital" with the ultimate aim of divorcing the economic labor movement from its ambitious spouse, the political one. The labor fakir instincts have told the union leaders of some of the trades organization that "the trades unions must not meddle in politics," and "no politics in the union!" is the battle cry of these. This cry, however, was promptly met by the political leaders with a circular letter sent out to all the Communes and favorably received by most of them, they having, by resolutions or otherwise, confined their allegiance to the party. But the pure and simple, not being allowed freely, if at all, to use the party press, accumulated stores of discontent and bad feeling, and so, to prevent an explosion, arrangements were made for two public meetings to be held in Folkets Hus (People's House) in Stockholm on the 3d and 9th of February last. The interest in those meetings was colossal; only a part of the would-be talkers could get the floor, and so it went on until three new meetings had taken place, almost the whole month those meetings dragged on and the ultimate result was that no distinct expression was formed by the audience and participants in the discussion, the majority wanting to leave the question open for further ventilation in the future.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Social Democracy of Sweden is not what it ought to be, measured by the standard of our fighting S. L. P., but is rather a similitude to the Social Democracy of America, still one must conclude that it is, on one side, the correct instinct of the workers of Stockholm that pushes them on to such an interest in the vital question: "politics or no politics within our trades unions?"—while on the other side, poses the reactionary, more crassly egotistical, and false withal, thought

that a non-political union will carry with it larger opportunities of special gains to be won from "brother capital."

And still I presume that it will be difficult for us of the S. L. P. to entertain any feeling of sympathy with any of the leading combatants on the Swedish soil, utterly as we do condemn pure and simpledom, for can we have any better feeling toward political fakirs than toward the economic ones? The fight we see is nothing but a contest between such worthies. And the union fakirs will, so we believe, although they may bite the dust at present, ever and ever return, until they will make it a struggle for life between them and the political fakirs. That these tender such a resolute fight may easily be understood when it is remembered that the political movement of social democracy in Sweden will be rendered almost equal to naught at the very moment that it would lose the support of the trades union movement. Sweden's political labor party is nothing but its trades union movement, and the political leaders—four representatives in the Riksdag and about a baker's dozen of newspaper editors, etc.—would, without the latter, no longer be able to point with unbounded pride to that movement and say, "Look at the power that is standing behind us."

I do not need to tell an American reader which are the interests that stand behind the regular labor fakir. But I will give an interesting example from Sweden, anyhow, showing how the fakir is bred; how, when not class conscious, temptations in the most natural way make a labor leader start on the paths of fakirism. In the city of Norrköping (by the way, the "Manchester" or "Fall River" of Sweden) the workers of the sugar factory have of late organized a strong union, which affiliated with the "Commune." So, one day this union sent its representative to the superintendent of the factory and requested an increase in wages of 50 ore (less than 14 cents) PER WEEK. He got the answer that they could get the increase, but not so long as they belonged to the "Commune." Without further ado the representative responded, in the name of his union, that they had intended to get out of the Commune, and so the increase was assured. Shortly afterward the union tendered its resignation from the Commune, against the protest, it is said, of a few members.

Before I stop I will give a few of the arguments delivered by the pure and simple at the meetings above referred to. Said one Arvid Björklund:

"We must, within our trades union movement, keep pace with the industrial development and with the concentration of capital. We must consider that the resistance we have before us grows in the same ratio, and that the will of resistance from the side of the capitalists increases in proportion as they have real or assumed reasons for grievances against the trades unions and the labor movement as a whole.

"Such pretexts for resistance to the trades unions we ought to remove, so that the trades unions will not even have a resemblance of wanting to press along any certain political conviction.

"Socialism has the greatest chances to win the workers; why then maintain the position that the members of the party shall be delivered through the trades unions? Shall we perchance talk of political tailors, political shoemakers and political ironworkers?

"No, let us have one single great political organization open to all, even to wholesale dealers (en gros sellers) if they are Socialists. We think we are ripe for the forming of political organizations and our Communes need not be removed."

Although the maintainers of status quo, among whom is also the national secretary of the trades union movement, have been pretty successful in their argument against the pure and simple so far, it is easy to perceive that even a Branting, in spite of all his diplomacy, will have quite a job to refute the wholesale-dealer-argument. For, does not he, as all Social Democrats, consider everybody a Socialist who confesses himself to be one, and as the trades unions hardly can admit to membership such "workers," would it be right to shut the movement for the dealers, wholesale dealers, at that?

Well, one thing is sure: if the trades unions withdraw, it will become a still more serious task for political dealers of the Social Democracy of Sweden to make deals with the Liberals and Radicals, landing the dealers in the chairs of the Riksdag: Victor Funke.

Excelsior Defense Fund.	
Previously acknowledged.....	\$60 75
Julius Samuels, New York.....	1 00
H. Deutsch New York.....	25
M. Swenson, New York.....	50
D. Baum, New York.....	50
P. Gelbel, New York.....	50
D. H. Graney, New York.....	50
Twenty-sixth A. D., New York.....	75
Seventh and Ninth A. D.'s, New York.....	1 00
F. Loch, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	30
Joseph Scheuerer, New York.....	30
Sympathizer, Eighteenth A. D., New York.....	25
Total.....	\$60 80
L. Abelson, Organizer, 2-6 New Read Street, Manhattan.	

REMEMBER  
**"MOZLE"**  
 CIGARETTES

## AN S. L. P. COUNCILMAN

## Breezy News From Mesa County, Colorado.

Grand Junction, Colo., March 1.—As I am the only S. L. P. councilman in America, I thought the comrades at large would like to know something of my work in the council, as my time will be up in April.

One who has not had a trial of it can scarcely believe the few opportunities that will arise in a plutocratic council to do battle for the working class, where the law has provided a certain amount of money to be spent and certain channels through which it must be spent. We find our hands tied many times when we would hit a blow for the working class in the shape of increased pay for certain labor performed, by the majority of the council that vote against it. Of course that does not hinder us from taking a stand and staying by it, but it makes clearer than ever the position of the S. L. P. that there is no way by which we can better the condition of the working class, except by gaining the political power of the nation and then changing the entire system.

But, of course, the plutocrats appear before the Grand Junction council the same as they appear before all other councils for special favors, and that is when we can get in some good work.

Not long since a Grand Junction company of would-be-capitalists appeared before the city council asking to have submitted to a vote of the people an ordinance giving said company a blanket franchise covering everything a person could think of, including light plant, ice plant, power, etc., etc. Of course, this company claimed to expect that we would vote in favor of submitting their proposition to a vote of the people, and were somewhat disgusted when we jumped on their plan with both feet. But in fighting this pet scheme of the would-be exploiters we made our position clear, as many were apt to misconstrue our meaning and think we were of to trust the people to decide such questions. In our fight we made clear the fact that the people had not requested that the above question be submitted to them, and the only ones asking and wanting it was a few that wanted to play the exploiting act.

We were not able to crush their scheme on the spot, as the question was referred to the light committee, to again come up at the next meeting of the council. But we succeeded in having a committee of three appointed to confer with the city attorney to prepare an ordinance submitting to a vote of the people a proposition to own their own light plant.

The next meeting of the council there were two questions to be decided: First, shall we submit to a vote of the people a proposition granting a twenty-year franchise to a private company to operate a light plant and anything else they might desire; second, shall we submit to a vote of the people a proposition providing for the city ownership of the light plant.

While there is no socialism in either proposition, yet there is but one stand that an S. L. P. man could take in such a fight; first, against the private franchise grabbers; second, for the city-owned plant.

To make a long story short, we won out in the fight notwithstanding the fact that the leading lawyers, bankers and bond holders were on hand to defend their class interests. Besides this, the mayor took the floor in their behalf, but when the votes were counted, not a vote did they have on their side in the council.

Thus the franchise scheme was crushed, and the question submitted to the people to decide whether they want a city-owned plant or not.

We were then elected by the council to go to Denver with another member of the council to learn the probable cost of a city-owned light plant, the result of our trip was satisfactory to all concerned.

While in Denver we had the pleasure of visiting the S. L. P. headquarters and found their section in splendid condition. On Sunday evening a few of the S. L. P. boys went with us to a so-called Socialist Party meeting. The speaker (I have forgotten his name) had things pretty badly mixed and one could plainly see two distinct forces at work within their ranks, each determined to rule the roost. About one-third of the so-called Socialist Party of Denver is made up of men who are honest, clear-cut and class-conscious, while the other two-thirds of their organization have scarcely developed beyond the principles of populism. How long this one-third will put up with and content themselves as a mere tail to a middle-class kite is hard to tell, but they are not birds of a feather and will not flock together long.

The S. L. P. boys of Denver are all right and they now have a class that meets twice each week to study Socialism from Utopia to Science. We are expecting Comrade Chase, our State secretary, to visit Grand Junction the coming summer.

We returned home from Denver just in time to attend the speaking contest that came off Friday evening, February 20.

The following from the Revolutionist of February 27 (a local paper printed by Section Mesa Co., S. L. P.) explains all about the speaking contest:

Our Speaking Contest.  
 "Last Friday evening, February 20, the

Socialist Labor Party speaking contest came off in the courtroom as per previous arrangements. All the seats were filled, all the standing room was taken, and many were turned away, unable to squeeze in.

"Dr. Eldridge will pay the first prize at our next contest, for which larger quarters will be secured. The following from the Daily Sentinel of February 21 regarding the contest, is good enough for the Revolutionist:

"The contest which had been arranged by the Socialist Labor Party, to take place at the court house last night, was an unqualified success. Every seat in the court house was filled and every available place for a seat was occupied by chairs.

"There were eight contestants, all young ladies from the various school districts surrounding the city: Fruitvale, Columbine, Allen and Pear Peak. All the young ladies did exceptionally well. A piece of Socialistic literature, the subject being 'Reform